TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. IX - 1961

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

International Institute of Tamil Studies



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ஆசிரியர் :

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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES

இரண்டாம் முதன்மைச் சாலை, மையத் தொழில்நுட்பப் பயிலக வளாகம்

தரமணி, சென்னை - 600 113

நூல் விவரக் குறிப்பு

நூல் தலைப்பு	: TAMIL CULTURE Vol. IX - 1961
பதிப்பாசிரியர்	: தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்
வெளியீட்டாளரும் பதிப்புரிமையும்	: உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் இரண்டாம் முதன்மை சாலை மையத்தொழில்நுட்பப் பயிலக வளாகம் தரமணி, சென்னை - 600 113.
தொலைபேசி எண்	: 044 22542992
வெளியீட்டு எண்	: 835
மொழி	: ஆங்கிலம், தமிழ்
பதிப்பு ஆண்டு	: 2014 : முதற்பதிப்பு :
பயன்படுத்திய தாள்	: 16 கிகி டி.என்.பி.எல்.வெள்ளை
நூலின் அளவு	: 1/8 டெம்மி
எழுத்தின் அளவு	: 11 புள்ளி
பக்க எண்ணிக்கை	: 464
அச்சுப்படிகளின் எண்ணிக்கை	: 1200
விலை	: ரூ. 300 (ரூபாய் முந்நூறு மட்டும்)
	: $10 USD
ISBN	: 978-93-85165-46-7
பொருண்மை	: முத்திங்கள் இதழ்
அச்சகம்	: ராஜ் எண்டர்பிரைஸஸ் திருவல்லிக்கேணி சென்னை - 600 005.

முனைவர் **கோ.விசயராகவன்** எம்.ஏ., எம்.ஃபில்.,எம்.பி.ஏ.,பி.எட்., பிஎச்.டி.
இயக்குநர்
உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்
சென்னை 600 113

அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் "திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்" என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெலாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு ***தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும்*** *ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.*

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் Tamil Culture என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, **மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக Tamil Culture என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவூலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் Tamil Culture முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

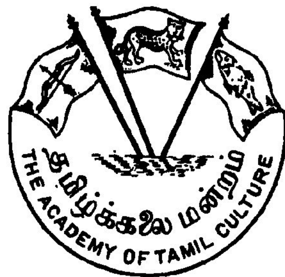
தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூ.இராசாராம் இ.ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சுப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்

Vol. IX. No. 1 JAN.—MAR., 1961.



TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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 Rs. 7 yearly

TAMIL CULTURE

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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A Trend in the Development of National Units

U. R. EHRENFELS.

In this paper an attempt is made to review existing differences between populations in the northern and southern halves of big nation areas on both hemispheres and to link them to two jointly acting principles: (*a*) an increased *mobility,* and (*b*) a relative *climatic differentiation.*

So far north-south differences have generally been considered as the result of locally varying factors, such as religion, language, technology or racial components. In the search for a more general principle of differentiation the following explanations have been proposed.

Let us first consider some facts as illustrations.

The U.S.A. fought a civil war over differences of policy in their southern and northern regions. In Russia the integration of the Ukraine in the south of the greater U.S.S.R. frame brought about an almost similar situation after the October Revolution of 1917.

The northern and southern halves of Ireland, Korea and Viet Nam have gone another way. They have parted company dramatically in recent history. Some fear that the same may happen to Nigeria after independence. The Germans fought a thirty years' war between north and south, during the 17th century. In this case the north-south tension did not calm down appreciably until Austria took an independent path after the Prussian war of 1866 and the last restoration of Austrian independence in 1945.

Chains of other countries too feel the existence of north-south tensions, though they may express them less belligerently. Such chains follow the meridian, along lines between pole and equator: Iceland, Scotland, Ireland, England, France, Spain, Morocco and Ghana may be taken as one; Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Egypt, Sudan and Uganda, another. Then, further east, there are Mongolia, China, India and Ceylon. These and others in between offer examples of comparable tensions between, in each case, a northern and a southern half. In fact none of the larger national units of the northern hemisphere is entirely free from these paired opposites. They express their existence in mutual attitudes among the populations of the countries' northern and southern regions (Ehrenfels, 1957/a:90).

A way of looking at this north-south behaviour pattern would be to compare it with east-west tensions. Perhaps these too follow the same almost monotonous regularity in their mutual attitudes. In Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Yugoslavia and Turkey, the east is less overpopulated, urbanized, industrialized, and the west is the guardian of older traditions. In the U.S.A., Canada, China, France, Sweden and Spain, the situation is exactly the reverse. In both groups of countries, the mutual attitudes of east to west are conditioned by varying situations. In other words: east-west attitudes do not follow stereotyped patterns but adapt themselves to locally changing conditions. North-south mutuality, on the other hand, shows a picture of constancy even under quite different conditions (Ehrenfels, 1956/a). Moreover there are many countries without any significant east-west tensions at all, though their north-south dualism is palpably developed: England, Italy and Burma — to mention a scattered few. Attitudes based on east-west differences occur occasionally and do not follow a general, common pattern, whilst north-south mutuality is almost universal. More significant still, north-south attitudes conform to a

pattern which is wide-spread in pre-literate simple social systems: dual organizations. In these civilizations two complimentary halves are frequently associated with such concepts as "upper and lower", "bigger and smaller", or "sky and earth", and the like. With this background in mind it would appear to be more than a mere coincidence that our maps, charts and globes are so designed that the north comes on top and the south below, (Ehrenfels, 1959/b) although there is no inherent, geographical reasons for this arrangement. They could be, and actually have been, made also in the reverse position, or with east up on top, as on some of the early Roman, Chinese and Arabian maps (Fordham, 1921: 40).

North and south mutuality among big nations fits into this general pattern of "upper and lower", which is a frequent feature in primitive dual systems. A more than accidental significance may thus be attached to the commonly used figure of speech: "up north", or "down south". In practically all countries of the northern hemisphere, the northerners consider themselves the more representative, genuine and important part of the common nation. Of course, the southerners hold a similar view about themselves, with the difference, however, that there is another accent in their concept of superiority. Hardly any southerners of the northern hemisphere claim to be more expansive, aggressive or powerful than the northerners of the same nation. Both parties believe that they are "the real thing", as far as the common nationhood is concerned. Yet what one group thinks of the other, and each of itself, varies significantly and almost constantly. Lists can be composed of what northerners think in various different countries about southerners, and *vice versa* (Ehrenfels, 1957/a: 91). Power and strength but also roughness and egocentric inadaptability are commonly ascribed to northerners. Richness in tradition, a bent towards beauty, but also craftiness and unreliability are, on the other hand, usually associated with southerners.

The typically *repeated recurrence* of *value concepts* is here of importance, as also the fact that these latter develop in different countries under otherwise quite different local conditions. This does not mean that they are altogether divorced from the facts of reality. Yet our primary concern at present is with what people *believe* to be true, not with what *is* true, in this context of north-south differences.

Is the north-south situation a general trait of big-nation psychology almost as universal as the forces of attraction and repulsion which produce comparable polarization phenomena in magnetism, electricity and the nuclear structure of the atom ? Whether we reject or affirm the validity of these comparisons, where can we look for their rational explanation ?

Roughness, expansiveness and extroverted energy are popularly associated with cold climates (Ward, 1918: 281) ; softness, an easy adaptability and an introverted disposition towards harmony, with warmer zones (Odum, 1936 : 11). In the northern hemisphere cold and warm coincide with north and south. Corresponding features could, as we said, be added to the two groups of character traits ; egocentric thoroughness, organizational gifts and a knack for acquiring wealth belonging to the north ; idealistic inconsistency, craftiness and unreliability to the south. Here is a wide field for detailed research into popular concepts and their expression in political ideologies, literature, poetry and even in the differences of phonetics and pronunciation in the northern and southern sub-regions of each individual language ; the stress, for example, on open vowels in the south and on sharp consonant articulations in the north.

Representative studies of India for instance (Nehru, 1946 : 110) or China (Lin Yu Tang, 1936 : 15-21), the vast work done on the American South (Odum, 1936 : 11 ; Parkins, 1938 : VIII : Myrdal, 1944 : 44, 1466 ; Gunther,

1946 : 635-78) ; all refer to the north-south situation, but always as though it were a *unique* phenomena in each of the countries under study. North-south tensions are also abundantly described in ancient and modern literature from the *Ramayana* to *Gone with the Wind.*

The checkered distributional pattern of northern and southern groups may give a clue to their nature and origin. "Northern" attitudes are not found condensed around the Arctic Pole, gradually decreasing as we approach the tropical belt; nor do "southern" attitudes hug the equator, thinning out gradually towards the north, in a manner comparable to the distribution of arctic or tropical species of plants and animals. Contrariwise northern and southern attitudes sort themselves out into complementary sub-regions in every country, thus conforming to ecological rules which are comparable to human situations and of which zoologists have been aware since long (Coon, 1954 : 200). Among animal species, this internal sorting out tends to make for bigger regional sub-species or varieties in the north and smaller in the south — a zoo-geographical phenomenon, known as *Bergmann's Rule.* Human attitudes would in this respect appear to follow a comparable line. Each large national area, whether near the pole or the equator, has each one northern and another southern sub-region, with their corresponding pattern of attitudes. Norway, Sweden, even Iceland, have each their own southern sub-regions, populated by people who are known for their cultural refinement, mental and even bodily agility, but lesser weight in the metaphorical and psychological, as even the physical, sense of the word. On the other hand, Uganda or Kenya, actually extending southwards beyond the equator, have, even so, their northern sub-regions, inhabited by the brave and picturesque Nilo-Hamite cattle-herders, such as the Masai, Turkana, Nandi, Galla and others.

There are, as we have already pointed out, chains of neighbouring countries along the meridians and in each of

which is a southern sub-region, lying actually nearer the north pole than does the northern sub-region of that country's southern neighbour: Southern Ireland if compared with northern France, southern France with northern Spain and so on in both directions. The same situation exists in southern China, which lies north of northern India, or Southern India, north of northern Ceylon, for instance. A *checkered pattern* of attitude-distribution thus develops. It resembles a string of magnets, laid out in lines running from north to south, each pointing its northern half towards the north pole and contrariwise. It does *not* resemble a *uniformly increasing* cluster of northern elements around the pole, or of southern elements along the equator. This is important, for it shows that there is another factor present — apart from the influence of the climate. What other factor can this be? Perhaps borders, separating one "north-south-polarised" country from another?

The consolidation of big-nation states during the last five hundred to five thousand years has produced a kind of social mobility which previously did not exist over such great areas. Mechanized transport facilities have intensified this internal mobility in recent history. People can now much more easily move within than beyond the limits of their respective countries. Following the line of least resistance, individuals with an inclination to settle north will tend to do so within the boundaries of their states, instead of beyond. and the same will be the case with people who feel inclined to move south into milder climes. The mere presence of checks to mobility in the form of national boundaries will thus make for a local concentration of northerly-inclined groups in the northern halves, and of southerly-predisposed ones in the southern subregions of the same large-area unit. Such, in fact, is the picture actually before us — at least in the northern hemisphere. *Internal migrations* within the limits of each "polarised" country, just described, in addition to the

well known and of course primarily acting physiological and psychological *adaptation to climatic environment*, would thus appear to be conjointly responsible for the checkered north-south attitude pattern, as we find it.

If this hypothetical explanation is correct, a reverse picture of polarization as found in the northern hemisphere should be expected in the southern (Ehrenfels, 1957/a : 96) in such a way that a south-to-north polarization pattern should predominate south of the equator. The example of Brazil for instance tallies with this postulation entirely (Wagley, 1949 : 222-58, 263 etc.). This example of Brazil is the more revealing because it covers an enormous territory, comparable to the U.S.A., and has culturally coalesced since the recent past only. The kind of people whom we are accustomed to regard as "northerners" are found there to be "southerners" and *vice versa*. The south of the country, being nearer the polar region, is the cooler, and consequently the "harder" types are found predominantly in southern regions. Conversely the "softer" types accumulate in the northern part, which, being situated nearer the equator, is relatively warmer or milder. The picture south of the equator thus shows an exact reversal of the situation with which we are familiar on the northern hemisphere. However, factual differences exist in the distribution of land and sea, as also in the age of national units there.

The world's great and ancient civilisations flourished north of the equator ; India, China, the "Fertile Crescent" countries, Egypt, Greece and Rome. In the new world, too, the Aztecs, Toltecs and Mayas, with the single exception of the Incas, lived north of the equator, as did also most of the medieval and later nation states of Europe and Asia. This was so even in Africa, in the case of Ethiopia, and the kingdoms of Uganda and West Africa (Dehomey, Ashanti, Hausa and Morocco). In Africa, south of the equator, much as in Australia, New-Zealand and Latin

America, present big-nation areas are all much younger. Hence, the process of sorting out south and north should here be a matter of recent growth only. This makes its study the more interesting.

Shortly after the first publication of these hypotheses, the Swedish *Elin Waegner Foundation* gave the author an opportunity to study during 1957-58 the conditions south of the equator in East Africa. First contacts in the "White Highlands" of northern Kenya pointed to the aggressive role which the *apartheid* policy of the South African Union plays in the entire continent. Important as this question no doubt is from the political point of view, it is a continental problem and as such does not belong strictly to the concept of sub-regional area polarization, our immediate concern. In the northern hemisphere, correspondingly, we are not studying the inter-European differences of, say, Scandinavia or the U.K., as contrasted with the Mediterranean belt, but rather the local north-south situations, such as are found in individual areas — Scotland, Switzerland and Italy, for instance. So also, in the southern hemisphere, we are concerned with the study of single-area units, and not with the all-African situation.

Considering some of the smaller units north of the South African Union, there is at first the much debated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The principle of the colour bar, though not of *apartheid*, is maintained there. Unhappy incidents involving Asian and African foreign diplomats resulted in the building of an extra-territorial hotel without colour-bar near the airport of the capital. This is meant to provide a local solution without changing the situation in the rest of the country. Southern Rhodesia, as the part nearer the South African Union, and also nearer the Antarctic Pole, is considerably stiffer in all these questions than its near-equatorial counterpart, Northern Rhodesia and still more Nyasaland. Tanganyika lies still further north, in East Africa, and almost reaches the equator with its two northernmost extension on either

side of Lake Victoria. As a British-administered United Nations trust territory, it is free from the colour-bar and comparatively less affected by colour prejudice as such. There are easy relations between the three major groups: African, Asian and European, apart from the Arabs on the coast and in the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and others.

Does this situation then mean that there is no south-to-north situation developing in Tanganyika ? This question is of theoretical importance to our problem. The German occupation of the country until World War I resulted scarcely in the typical polarization pattern, though European farmers did begin to settle in the cool " Southern Highlands " of the Territory, in small numbers. But a typical attitude towards the south has been developing among the African peoples themselves and this bears comparison with the attitude pattern to the north with which we are familiar in the northern hemisphere. This development goes back to two inter-African invasions of the area. The first took place about three and a half centuries ago; the second, one and a half. The Wa-Zimba were the first intruders. Two Portuguese, Bocaro and Dos Santos, reported of them that they had come from the south, reaching the river Zambesi between 1580 and 1589 and marching further northwards into Tanganyika under their chieftain Muzimba (Grey, 1948: 37-47). They are said to have plundered, destroyed, killed and actually eaten up every one they met, except those of their opponents whom they admitted for one reason or another into their army as soldiers. The Wa-Zimba reached the Tanganyika coast near Kilwa Kisiwani, south of Dar-es-Salaam, devouring some three thousand people. They marched further north to Mombasa with the approval of the Portuguese commander there who tried to get rid of his Arab opponents with the help of the Wa-Zimba. Still further north the same story was repeated on the Malindi coast of Kenya, but the Wa-Zimba were there attacked in the rear and apparently annihilated.

A second wave of aggression from the south was that of the Wa-Ngoni (Hatchell, 1948 : 69). They had been living during the 18th century in what is now Natal. Towards the end of the Zulu king Shaka's reign there (Ritter, 1955 : 105) and, perhaps, in part due to his aggressive policy, the northwards migration of the Wa-Ngoni has been initiated or intensified. It reached the river Zambesi under the leadership of Izongondaba and extended over the Ruvuma River into southern Tanganyika and beyond. This invasion from the south determined the last phase of pre-European history in those parts of East Africa. It pushed the matrilineal Yao group (including the Makonde, Makua and Mwera tribes) from Mozambique and Nyasaland into Tanganyika, thereby changing the ethnic situation in southern Tanganyika. The Wa-Mwera settled as the northernmost among these immigrants in the present Lindi District where they still follow a peculiar system of bilineal clan succession (Ehrenfels, 1959/a : 577).

This Ngoni invasion started off a wider south-to-north migratory trend which, as we shall see presently, continues to this day though under different motivations and circumstances. Just before the arrival of European powers in the area, the Wa-Ngoni permeated parts of western Tanganyika and reached even so far as the south-western shores of Lake Victoria, very near the equator. They also established themselves further south in Songea, named after a Ngoni chief.

At about the same time the Masai had pushed southwards from their north-equatorial steppes and approached the equator from the other side in Kenya and Tanganyika.

Had it not been for the appearance of the British in Kenya and the Germans in Tanganyika, the two equator-directed movements, the Ngoni thrust from the south and the Masai advance from the north, might have met on or near the equator and come to a clash there. As it were this was prevented by European powers, but another

migratory movement appears to have been indirectly influenced by the two convergent south-to-north and north-to-south movements, here.

This is the consolidation of the composite Luguru tribe of Morogoro District, a likewise matrilineal group in the Eastern Province of Tanganyika. Most Luguru clans derive their traditional origins from neighbouring regions in the south, especially from Iringa and the Southern Highlands. There is, however, a significant exception: the clan legend of the Mwenda. It points to a distant northern origin, perhaps as far as Kenya or even beyond (Ehrenfels, 1960). In this a parallel is palpable to the converging migrations towards the equator from south as well as north. But even beyond this and now when tribal migrations are no more possible in the old style, the south-to-north movement has not yet completely vanished from these parts of East Africa. A steady stream of Wa-Mawiha comes as immigrant labourers from Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) in the south over the Ruvuma River into Tanganyika in the north. This modern movement towards the equator is no doubt conditioned by the economic situation in British administered Tanganyika, but continues at the same time the migratory trends which the Ngoni aggression had set into motion before the advent of European powers on the scene.

This originally inter-tribal and now inter-national situation in East Africa south of the equator, tends to produce a polarization picture of local culture configurations which is the reverse of that described in the preceding pages as typical for the northern hemisphere. The picture in East Africa conforms at the same time to the regional distribution trends which have been noticed in South American countries, particularly in Brazil.

The trend towards sorting processes within circumscribed areas which has been discussed in this paper appears to be an almost universal co-function in the development of Big-Nation-Units.

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Medieval Indian History

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We meet under a sad gloom caused by the unfortunate demise of Dr. A. S. Altekar, the President-Elect of the Indian History Congress this year. A profound and unostentatious scholar, Dr. Altekar is an outstanding historian of our country, and it is indeed a great calamity that the cruel hand of death snatched him away from our midst a few weeks before the commencement of our Session. May his soul rest in peace!

Dr. Altekar's earliest historical work of note, namely, "The Rashtrakutas and their times", pertains to the period which falls under the purview of this section. In fact, our period, described generally as that of Medieval India, constitutes a vast span of India's history, since it is supposed to commence with A.D. 711 and terminate with A.D. 1764. It is not easy to justify the delimitation of the upper or lower limit of this period if we are to characterise it as the Medieval age of Indian history. Obviously, in this as in several other matters, we seem to have followed the Western pattern. It does not seem easy or appropriate to compartmentalise our history into those of ancient, medieval and modern epochs as in the case of European countries. For one thing, true to the traditions of the unchanging East, we in India have almost tenaciously clung to the hoary past, and in several respects, particularly regarding the everyday life of the common masses, there have occurred few startling changes. In our country the ancient period drifts almost imperceptibly into the medieval one which, in its turn, passes on into the modern

* Presidential Address delivered at the Indian History Congress (Medieval Indian Section) held on 27th December, 1958.

era. There was nothing equivalent to the fall of the Roman Empire demarcating the Ancient from the Medieval period, or the Renaissance separating the Medieval from the Modern epochs of European history.

No doubt, the most striking phenomenon of the medieval age of India's history is the advent of the Muslims into the country and the establishment of their power. But the upper and lower limits fixed for this phenomenon are hardly sustainable on close scrutiny. True, the year A.D. 711 saw the arrival of Muhammad-bin Kasim and his followers in Sind. But this event, by itself, had little influence in the shaping of the later history of the land; it was little more than an episode. The establishment of the Arab power in Sindh lasted for hardly one century, before which forces of disruption set in resulting in the collapse of the nascent power.

Nor is it possible to maintain that the Arab contact with Sind paved the way for the later Turkish invasion of North India. The two are disconnected phenomena. Further, in between A.D. 711 and 1193, i.e., for nearly five centuries, the old pattern of political situation continued to prevail. The rise and fall of small kingdoms, often as a consequence of mutual conflicts, characterised the age. Even after the second battle of Farain (1193) which witnessed the dawn of the establishment of the Muslim power in the political horizon, the new order touched but a part of Northern India, for some centuries at any rate. The Deccan and the extreme south of India remained unaffected by the Muslim contact till the beginning of the 14th century. Moreover, even at the zenith of their power, the Muslims did not rule over the whole of India. By 1687 which year witnessed the Moghul conquest of Golconda, the southern outpost of the Mughal empire, the power at the centre had become enfeebled. It is well known that the authority of the Muslims during the age of the 'Later Mughals' was more formal than real, and it seemed as if

the day of doom was awaited any moment until the bubble was pricked by the British Company. Meanwhile, in the 18th century the Marathas made a bid for supreme power and there appeared a stage when they were almost on the point of establishing their supremacy over north as well as central India. But the disaster which befell them at Panipat prepared the way for their disintegration and ultimate downfall. Thus, though the designation 'Medieval India' does not denote exclusively the age when the Muslims were dominant in India, it is undeniable that over the major part of the period they were powerful.

The inaccuracy in respect of the upper and lower limit of this delimitation suggests that in preference to a chronological division based on racial dominance, a geographical division might well be taken as the basis of demarcation of three sections. I mean that instead of the vertical and chronological division a horizontal and geographical division might be better. The histories of North India, the Deccan and the extreme South can well constitute the three units of study. Though there were many points of contact between them in the course of history, yet there exist certain distinctive characteristics as well, and it is an open question whether this line of demarcation is or is not more rational than that of the present. Perhaps sentimental considerations of unity of the history of the entire land militate against such a division, but in my opinion, academic considerations should not be guided by sentiment, however noble it may be. I hasten to affirm that my suggestion is by no means actuated by parochialism, which has no place in the academic field.

However, conforming now to the existing arrangement, I may begin by stating that the history of the early Muslim invaders as well as of the Mughals has received considerable attention at the hands of scholars. Over a large part of the period under review there continued a

fierce struggle between the Muslims and Hindus. This question of religious strife has been treated by various historians in different ways. On the one hand, there are numerous historians who condemn the actions of several fanatic Sultans and blame the Koranic injunctions for the harsh treatment of non-Muslims. On the other hand, there are many Muslim historians who justify the policies and actions of the Sultans. Latterly, there have appeared historians of various denominations blaming only particular monarchs but exonerating the Koran of all blame. The most recent tendency is to pass over or ignore the early conflicts and lay stress only on those relations which were cordial and friendly between Hindus and Muslims. At once it may be submitted that this is more the approach of the politician rather than that of the historian. It is beyond the pale of the true academician to read modern ideas into the past and to mould historical treatment so as to subserve ulterior objects in view, however laudable they might themselves be in an absolute sense.

These differences in the angle of approach on all questions of controversy—not only in respect of relations between the Muslims and non-Muslims, but between the British and the Indians, or between people of different castes among Hindus have all raised serious doubts as to whether an entirely objective history is possible to be written at all. Though time and again it is urged that the historian is to play the role of a judge and not that of an advocate, in respect of a considerable number of works written, the call has been little more than a cry in the wilderness.

The religious, racial, communal, local, linguistic and other predilictions and partialities on the part of historians have in many cases blatantly or sometimes in a subtle and almost unconscious manner influenced their judgments. There have been far too many instances of attempts at gilding the lily, praising and exaggerating the glories of

one's own country, caste, community, creed or language and ignoring or even deliberately suppressing inconvenient or unpleasant facts.

This raises the fundamental question whether perfect objectivity in the matter of writing history can ever be achieved at all. Mommsen, the celebrated historian of Rome, at first said: "Those who lived through historical events, as I have, begin to see that history is neither written nor made without love or hate." Dr. Vincent A. Smith began with the aim of relating the ancient history of India 'with impartiality' and discussing the problems 'in a judicial spirit'. (Early History of India (1914) p. 3). But he himself admitted that some measure of subjectivity was likely to hamper the effort, though he added that the aim should be to keep it under check to the maximum extent. "Nor is it possible," he said, "for the writer of history, however great may be his respect for objective fact, to eliminate altogether his own personality. Every kind of evidence, even the most direct, must reach the reader, when presented in a narrative form, as a reflection from the mirror of the writer's mind, with the liability to unconscious distortion." But to be aware of this handicap is not to give unbridled freedom to the subjective element. That would make historiography utterly valueless. The aim must be, as Dr. Vincent Smith himself said, to subordinate the subjective factor to the utmost. Though it is by no means easy, objectivity in the treatment of history must be the avowed goal. It is significant that Mommsen himself, in his later life, learned to write without love or hate. Ranke, too, another celebrated historian, urged the devotion to unvarnished truth on the part of the historian. Polybius put forward an impassioned plea for impartiality in historical judgements. More recently Lord Acton observed that the historian should never debase the moral currency or lower the standard of moral rectitude.

The test of a true historian lies in his success in overcoming all those impediments which militate against the

proper approach to the questions of history. Patriotism, sectionalism, chauvinism of all types and personal bias or prejudice have all to be subordinated to the unflinching search for truth. It is sometimes felt that writers totally unconnected with the issues involved may prove to be the best judges and most impartial historians. That is one reason why the histories written by disinterested foreigners have proved to be more reliable than those attempted by parties concerned or interested in the affairs dealt with.

Apart from deliberate purpose or unconscious predilictions, the mere desire to present the account of the past in an attractively impressive manner has often led to deflections from the precise truth. The flare for expressing ideas in a telling way has frequently made writers sacrifice truth for an epigram. Macaulay is the worst, though a brilliant, offender in this respect. But it is surprising that certain modern historians lay a premium on an attractive and interesting narration. Bishop Creighton, for instance, warns the historical worker against the cult of impartiality which would develop dullness and paralyse the judgement. G. M. Trevelyan, too, pleads for an entertaining pattern of narration. But it has to be contended that lucidity and an attractive presentation are possible to be achieved without sacrificing accuracy.

On the whole, it cannot be too strongly urged that the primary object of all historical research and investigation is to arrive at the truth on the basis of well-authenticated and accurately presented facts and that the function of the historian is that of a judge rather than that of an advocate.

Our progress of historical research, in the medieval period of Indian history, too has been considerable in respect of output. One wishes that the quality of the work done is equally commendable. Juvenile attempts have been many. The insistence upon research qualifications for appointment in colleges and universities has

quickened the pace of research. But the products are not always up to the mark. Superficiality and dubious attempts at originality characterise the works of many ambitious aspirants. A flare for propounding startling theories is also noticeable in many cases.

Nor has the standard of reviews remained high. It is unfortunate that in numerous instances personal or sectional considerations are responsible for interested reviews of books. Indiscriminate praise and failure to draw attention to the glaring defects is not an uncommon feature. At the same time, malicious condemnations and exaggerations of minor defects, actuated by personal or sectional animosities are noticeable occasionally. In fact, legitimate appreciation, no less than a meticulously high standard of judicious criticism, is an essential requisite of the progress of research on sound lines.

Many more monographs on the history of the various dynasties have yet to appear before a comprehensive history of the different regions can be undertaken. India being a vast country, her history cannot be adequately reconstructed without intensive studies of each region. Thus, in respect of the period with which we are concerned here, much remains to be done, though some spade work has been already accomplished. But since the publication of the early works, fresh light has been thrown on various questions by inscriptions published since then; in some cases literary works pertaining to the periods of study have been translated and made available for use. In fact it is necessary to have the older works brought up-to-date in the light of new data. Thus, for example, the histories of the Kalachuris, the Chandellas, the Paramaras in respect of North India, the histories of the later Chalukyas, the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas, the Hoysalas and the Eastern Chalukyas regarding the Deccan and those of the later Pandyas and of Kerala after Cheramanperumal are all units of study demanding intensive treatises based on all the available materials.

During the period ranging from about the middle of the 14th down to the 17th century the dominant power of the south was that of Vijayanagar. It is true that after Sewell discovered early this century the Forgotten Empire of Vijayanagar, a considerable amount of reconstruction of its history has been accomplished. Nevertheless there are still several sections of its history awaiting clarification and further investigation. This is particularly so of the later history of Vijayanagar after the battle of Rakshas-tangdi. This later history of Vijayanagar is closely connected with the fortunes of the Nayaks of Madurai, Tanjore, Vellore, Ginji and Ikkeri.

Intensive studies of these dynasties have to be reconstructed on the entire body of material now available from epigraphy, literature, archaeology and foreign accounts. One cannot too strongly urge the great need of effective collaboration and co-ordination of the various departments of research like those of Languages, Archaeology and Epigraphy. At present when specialisation has become the order of the day there is a danger of isolated and discordant effort at the search for truth. But specialisation, far from excluding the co-operation of related subjects of study, demands it as an indispensable condition of the advancement of knowledge. "Academic life" observes Alfred Kazin, "thrives on co-operative specialisation, on a body of scholars who not only respond to one another but all who need each other."

Equally important is the need for collaboration on the part of the various universities in the matter of research. There is always a *prima facie* case for researches on local history being undertaken by universities which are situated within or near the regions concerned. A proper understanding of the *realien*, the psychological background and the literary source can be best assessed and studied by persons of the locality, though care has to be taken to see that no deflection occurs from the legitimate

path of the historian through either the desire to gild the lily or to surrender one's judgement to partisan outlook.

But it is not always wise to confine rigidly the scope of universities. Either universities situated in the neighbourhood of the regions concerned or in certain cases even distant universities can provide for historical researches pertaining to regions removed from their own, provided the required equipment is available. In fact, studies from disinterested quarters have a distinct value of their own. They serve as correctives to jingoism or coloured views of local writers. The foreign writers, too, have to guard themselves against hyper-critical judgements without a proper understanding of the contexts or undue adulations actuated by a patronising attitude of cultural sympathy. For instance, the views of earlier western writers on the role of the Aryan languages and institutions in relation to the pre-Aryan counterparts have had to be revised.

However, though the freedom of scope in respect of research is not to be restricted, care has to be taken that there does not occur unnecessary duplication. A central organisation which maintains record of the work done by the various universities, as well as the work that still remains to be attempted, will serve a useful purpose. What the London University has attempted in this direction in respect of the modern period of Indian history is highly commendable. Regarding the other periods, an organisation like the Indian History Congress may undertake this responsibility with great advantage.

Another respect in which a strong lead may be given is to make a change in the scope of historical investigation. Emphasis has been for long laid almost exclusively on political history. History has meant very largely that of kings and queens, wars and treaties. This has accounted for a lop-sided view of, and also a distaste for, history. It is now being realised on all hands that the more important aspect of history is that relating to the people and their

everyday life. The history of society, religion, art, literature and culture should constitute the fundamental basis of investigation. It is by no means suggested that political history is to be neglected ; political history still forms the pivot ; for without the political and chronological framework, all other aspects of history will tend to become vague and meaningless.

It is, however, undeniable that the writing of social history in a systematic and scientific manner is beset with certain inherent difficulties. Our sources of information are often meagre ; the lack of historic sense on the part of our ancestors is primarily responsible for this. Moreover, social and cultural history is invariably devoid of epoch-making or clearly assignable dates. Consequently vague generalisations appear. The temptation to apply the known facts of one age to all the succeeding ages indiscriminately is common. This danger of what is called 'historical averaging' leads to inaccurate pictures of certain ages. Care has to be taken to avoid this error.

At the same time it is undeniable that in respect of everyday life, food, dress, customs and habits there is a remarkable continuity. It is rarely that we come across events of a definite date which have changed the even tenor of life. Nevertheless, until there is adequate evidence, epigraphic or literary, regarding the continuance of specific factors of social life, generalisations would be unwarranted.

A little different is the position in respect of the history of art or religion which also figure under social history. Though the traditions of the previous age in these spheres, too, have invariably continued during the succeeding periods there are occasionally specific events which have modified them. Often the changes are associated with particular leaders or groups. Changes in respect of styles of architecture, sculpture, painting or iconography can sometimes be assigned to definite dates or periods.

Not infrequently the person or persons responsible for the introduction of the styles are also ascertainable.

In respect of religious condition, the position is positively better. The ideas emphasised by the teachers or leaders of thought are known. During the period with which we are concerned here the leaders of the Bhakti movement had impressed their personalities on their and future ages, too. The Bhakti movement which revelled in the concept of sincere devotion to God has had a remarkable continuity. Traceable perhaps to basic ideas developed by the Bhagavata Purana, it had its full-blown bloom at the hands of the Alvars and Nayanmars of the South.

At their hands religion threw off the 'gorgeous draperies of dialectic and the sack-cloth and ashes of pessimistic introspection' and became a simple and poignant human experience. These Nayanmars and Alvars were god-intoxicated people who transmitted their divine infatuation to millions of their contemporaries. Some of them were highly gifted singers and have left behind 'an imperishable legacy of devotional poetry which has never been surpassed during the whole course of human history'.

The Bhakti cult soon moved the spirit of devotees in the Deccan and North India. About A.D. 1150 Nimbaraka founded a new school in Andhradesa stressing the devotion and attachment of Sri Krishna and Radha. Ramananda, supposed to have belonged to Allahabad, also emphasised the value of sincere devotion and ridiculed all social conventions including the institution of caste. Ramananda's disciples belonged to all castes, the greatest of them being Kabir. Kabir, 'perhaps the greatest of the Indian mystics', was a true saint who aimed at the reconciliation of Hindus and Muslims. He described himself as the child of Allah and Rama, and the Hindus and Muslims as "pots of the same clay". His great disciple was Nanak who also laid stress on practical morality and condemned hypocrisy and

worldliness. Attempting to harmonise the tenets of Hinduism and Islam, he founded the Sikh religion.

Another product of the Bhakti cult was Vallabha (A.D. 1479-1531) of the Andhradesa, who preached devotion to Krishna and inculcated detachment from worldly pleasures. Some of his followers later sanctioned the enjoyment of cardinal pleasures in the name of God; but this represented a perversion of his teachings. Chaitanya (1485-1534) his contemporary, laid supreme emphasis on love, purity of life and devotion to Krishna. He too condemned ceremonials and the institution of caste. Haridas, who lived in the close of the 16th century and early 17th century, was influenced by the teachings of Chaitanya. In fact, Thayumanavar and, still later, Ramalingaswamigal are also products of the Bhakti movement, which, therefore transcends our delimitation of the periods of Indian history.

A familiar subject of investigation is whether the Bhakti movement was influenced by the Islamic tenet of monotheism. There is little doubt that in the later medieval period when the principal ideas of both the religions were attempted to be harmonised by leaders like Kabir, Chaitanya or Nanak, Islamic thought exercised its share of influence. But it is hardly justifiable to claim that the Bhakti movement in its initial stage as under the Alvars and the Nayanmars had any trace of the Islamic influence. Intensity of emotional appeal and dislike of external forms and ceremonies are the results of introspection rather than of external influences.

It is during the medieval period that there appeared the great spiritual thinkers of Hinduism, namely, Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa. It is no matter of chance coincidence that all the three of them hailed from the South, for it was here that the spiritual ferment rose to a spearhead during that age. In fact one of the Vedantins before the time of Sankara bore the name Dravidacharya, which

is indicative of his Southern origin. The distinctive doctrines propounded by Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa. namely, Advaita, Visishtadvaita and Dvaita, were followed by their respective adherents, but the contributions made by them to Hindu thought and the effects of their teachings fall as much under the realm of history as under philosophy. Ramanuja, in particular, was more than a philosopher; he was a social reformer, for he felt the supreme need of transgressing the limits of the traditional caste system in appealing to and winning followers. The social effects of their teachings have to be fully analysed and correctly assessed. The exact date of Sankara is still an unsettled question.

Thus the problems awaiting further investigation are many and varied. It is hoped that scholars assembled here and others who have devoted themselves to research would enthusiastically concentrate on subjects suited to their tastes, equipment and training and enlarge our knowledge about them.

On Āytam

C. R. SANKARAN.

[Abstract:—My work on *āytam* has been evaluated by Professor F. B. J. Kuiper (Leiden) within the usual empirical frame of reference. But a derivation of *āytam* from *āy* can now be considered in the light of sūtra 330 of collatıkāram in Tolkāppiyam. Such a derivation lends support to the generalised *āytam*-phenomenon which is the minimum (threshold) duration for the perception of speech. This can also be further extended to speech-production as well].

Professor F. B. J. Kuiper has referred to my work on the *āytam* phenomenon in the following two periodicals:

In *Lingua* (Amsterdam) 7, 1. November, p. 99, he says "From 1941 onwards Professor Sankaran has in a long and still continuing series of articles in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute (BDCRI) developed his theory about an alpha-phoneme which is supposed to be the linguistic representative of Dedekind's mathematical 'cut' and to constitute the critical point in the flux of speech where the consonant ends and the vowel begins (or *vice versa*). Although sometimes an attempt was made to interpret this phoneme physically as a definite energy that makes possible a gradual transition between vowel and consonant (e.g. VI, 1944, p. 89), a complication arose from the fact that the 'cut' corresponds to no interval in time (XII, 1951, p. 246). In fact, the alpha-phoneme, being 'purely imaginary in the strict mathematical sense' does not correspond 'to any *real* fact of nature' (VIII, 1947, p. 90, n. 12). It is true, the author modestly characterized his own long-range work as being more an attempt to outline a programme than a theory

(XII, 1951, p. 228 n) 'an attempt at the discovery of basic theoretical laws governed by two principles (even as it was to Einstein)' (p. 240). It cannot be doubted, however, that such consequences of this theory as the possible necessity of a 're-examination of all our intuitions about time' (XII, p. 233), and the concept of the consonant-vowel configuration as being 'an infinite series of four-dimensional acoustico-articulatory events (to which no actual events, as we can think of, correspond)' (*ibid.* p. 226) lie outside the scope of linguistic research proper. Since his book on 'Phonemics of Old Tamil' moves on quite the same lines, a critical discussion from a linguistic point of view is likely to miss the author's point (as he complains of others having missed it, BDCRI, XII, p. 239 f., p. 412 f.). Still a reviewer in a linguistic periodical is bound to confine himself to the strictly linguistic aspects of the problems discussed in this work."

With this preamble, Professor F. B. J. Kuiper proceeds to assess my work "Phonemics of Old Tamil" (Deccan College Monograph series No. 7, Poona 1951) in *Lingua*, Volume VII, 1 November, 1957, pp. 99-102.

2. Again in *Indo-Iranian Journal,* Volume II, 1958, (Mouton and Co., the Hague, Netherlands), in his paper "Two problems of Old Tamil Phonology. 1. The old Tamil Āytam (with an appendix by K. Zvelebil, p. 191)" Professor F. B. J. Kuiper has said, "In 1941 Professor C. R. Sankaran for the first time considered the possibility that the old Tamil Phoneme āytam might represent a linguistic form of the Dedekind 'cut' or 'gap' and constitute the imaginary point in the flux of speech where the vowel ends and the consonant begins (See *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 2, p. 343 ff.). Essentially the same view, which he has since discussed in a long series of articles, he still defends in his book on *Phonemics of Old Tamil* (Poona, 1951), where the āytam and the other two 'non-autonomous phonemes' (car-

peḻuttu) of the old Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam are characterized as 'non-linear'. Although this theory is mainly concerned with problems of a decidedly non-linguistic character and although there are no indications to show that the author of the Tolkāppiyam knew of any such distinctions as 'non-linear' versus 'linear' which Sankaran reads into the old *Sūtras*, the latter's studies have been indirectly useful in that they remind us of how little is known about the real nature of the āytam. Therefore an attempt to determine more exactly its nature would seem justified in the present state of these studies."

3. It is true that very "little is known about the real nature of the āytam" and "therefore, an attempt to determine more exactly its nature would seem justified" in the present state of our studies. Precisely it is the nature of āytam. I propose now to discuss briefly here from yet another tell-tale sūtra in Tolkāppiyam which had never been taken into account so far. I am indebted to Rao Sahib K. Kothandapani Pillai who drew my attention to this tell-tale sūtra

Ōytal āytal niḻattul cāay
Āvayin nāṅkum ullatan̲ nuṇukkam.

(Tolkāppiyam—collatikāram, uriiyal Sūtra, 330) with an English commentary by P. S. Subrahmany Sastri, Annamalai University Tamil Series No. 9, 1945, p. 227.

4. From this sūtra, we get a clue to a suggestive derivation of āytam from āy which connotes the concept of ullatan̲ nuṇukkam. Could it not be possible that Tolkāppiyar himself had shown us so creatively with his rare genius the way of conceiving the āytam as the "intelligibility threshold point in perception" as in my generalised āytam-phenomenon theory? I draw attention here to my own statement made on page 39 of my Phonemics of Old Tamil :— "It is also possible to consider our problems as one of 'discontinuous' transformations . . . . where

the property of existence and non-existence alone matter ". Here the alpha-phonoids — the generalised āytam-phenomena — as we traverse from one 'point-event' to another in the speech continuum of any consonant-vowel configuration are the discontinuities. The recognition of āytam as ullataṉ nuṇukkam by Tolkāppiyar himself may very well fit in as the right basis for such a generalisation. The next sentence on the same page in my Monograph, I may point out, is also pregnant in this light — "We are thus deviously led once again to the threshold of the philosophical enquiry concerning the ultimate 'discontinuity' or 'continuity' in Nature." It is of interest to note that Professor C. T. K. Chari in his able paper "Is time Matrizable ?" (Transactions of the Indian Philosophical Congress, 1951, 140 fn. 40) has so generously referred to this very sentence of mine. It is important to remember too here that my another associate Dr. P. C. Ganeshsundaram in his paper "The Structure of Speech-sounds" in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, 17, 1955-56, p. 120. fn. 16, refers also to my observation "Now each 'event' constitutes a type of regularity in a deeper sense of the term, which is ultimate and non-causal" (C. R. Sankaran, A Note on the Epistemological significance of the Alpha-Phoneme and the Alpha-Phonoid theories, BDCRI Vol. 14, p. 120).

It is only from the recognition of what has been traditionally known as the *āytam*-phenomenon in Old Tamil, a generalisation has been made in defining a Dedekind 'cut' in any speech-continuum of a consonant-vowel configuration (cf. C. R. Saṇkaran, On Defining the Alpha-Phoneme, *Current Science*, January, 1944, 1, 11-12).

I am indicating now a way also of measuring the alpha-phonoid from the method of orthogonal polynomial fitting which my associate Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva has applied in his analysis of speech-oscillograms, C. R. Sankaran and B. Chaitanya Deva, Phonetic Studies in the Dravidian (Telugu), Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Insti-

tute (in press); B. Chaitanya Deva, Psycho-physics of Speech-Melody IV Zeitschrift fur Phonetik (in press); C. R. Sankaran, The Alpha-Phonoid Theory and Speech-Structure. *Zeitschrift fur Phonetik* (cf. especially footnote 9, in press).

5. Now it is clear that section 10 of my Monograph (p. 22) giving the etymology of the word āytam has to be entirely scratched in the light of the new derivation of āytam suggested here. I mean to say that āytam is to be derived from āy rather than from āśritam.

6. In my paper "A Philosophical Analysis of the Alpha-Phoneme Theory in relation to the Problem of Speech Structure" (BDCRI 14, 1952, p. 91), I had said "I may claim as the representative of both Tolkāppiyar and Bhartṛhari". I believe that claim, in a way, can find substantiation in my generalisation of the āytam-phenomenon. But I had said in the very next sentence, "Perhaps more correctly speaking, I extend Tolkāppiyar's empirical conception being more true to Bhartṛhari's tradition". Now I would have this sentence too completely wiped out in the light of Sūtra 330 of collatikāram discussed above. For, I now think that the very large concession I had then made to the prevalent view that Tolkāppiyam was only an ancient grammar within a strictly empirical frame of reference, is quite unwarranted. I would rather say that even as it was given to Bhartṛhari to bring in to greater relief the meta-linguistic, 'symbolic' thinking, hidden mostly, in Pāṇinī (BDCRI, loc., cit., p. 99), so to me is also given the same great privilege of bringing into 'open' as it were, the non-phenomenological *inner side* of Tolkāppiyam with reference to the āytam-phenomenon. To adapt the language of C. W. Leadbeater as applied to the esoteric side of Christianity (C. W. Leadbeater, "Theosophy and Christianity", Chapter II in "Some glimpses of Occultism", p. 35), one would prefer to say that the question as to the existence of an esoteric side both in Pāṇinī and Tolkāppiyam is not one of senti-

ment, but of fact; and that it is useless for those who do not wish to believe it to clamour against the plain and obvious meaning of the tell-tale and the telling document, so to say, which is undoubtedly the sūtra 330 of the collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam. This sūtra gives a clue through the phrase ullataṉuṇukkam to "the (ultra) elementary constituent of perception extending in the time-series over what may be called a duration, which since it is *sui generis* cannot be defined in terms of anything else" (See op., cit., BDCRI 14, 1952, p. 94).

For ullatu can be effectively translated in Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva's language as "Existence (which) is a direct immediate relation that IS" (B. Chaitanya Deva, "An Examination of the Nature of Structure" (Addendum to the Structure in Speech in Nachrichtentechnische Fachberichte, Information Theory, N. T. F. Band 3, p. 71). I may say also in conclusion here that I am suggesting the extension of the alpha-phonoid (the generalised āytam-phenomenon concept) to speech-production as well in my latest paper, "A Note on a Biolinguistical approach to Measuring the Alpha-Phonoid from the point of view of speech-production" which is to appear in Zeitschrift fur Phonetik. It is hardly necessary for me to say that both Pāṇinī (See my paper, Accentual Variation in relation to Semantic Variation, The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras-9, 1935, pp. 317-318; 10, 1936, p. 53) and Tolkāppiyar in their *outer* work were strictly confined to the rigorous empirical frame of reference, operating on the spoken language of their respective times.

cf. *Vaḻakkum ceyyulum āyiru mutaliṉ*
eluttum collum porulum nāṭi

(Tolkāppiyam. Eluttatikāram. Published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly-Madras, 1933, p. 12). It is again Rao Sahib Kothandapani Pillai, who drew my attention to these pregnant lines.

A Comparative Study of Tamil and Nagari Alphabets

DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU

"Writing (Arts) and numbers (sciences) are like the two eyes of living beings"[1] says Tiruvalluvar in his world famous Tamil classic 'Tirukkural'. Saint Tiruvalluvar 'is said to have been one of the greatest of poets and philosophers who lived about the 1st century A.D.'[2] This indicates how writing in Tamil had already become in his time an indispensable feature for human well-being.

Tolkappiam is the earliest Tamil work extant at present; it is a grammar compiled by Tolkappiar who probably lived in the 4th Century B.C.[3] It is clearly a work based on the works of earlier Tamil grammarians among whom (i) Ahattiar, (ii) Author of 'Seyittiam', (iii) Author of 'Seyalmurai', (iv) Mayechchurar, (v) Perunkakkai Pattiniyar, (vi) Palhayanar, (vii) Natrattanar, (viii) Avinayar, and (ix) Vaipiyar[4] are worth mentioning. Tolkappiam has given only the essential elements of (a) Ezhuttu (script), (b) Chol (word), and (c) Porul (matter), i.e., phonology, morphology and semantics respectively as found in the earlier works. It is unfortunate that none of the earlier works is now available.

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1 Kural No. 392 in 'Tirukkural'.

2 Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, in his foreword to 'Tirukkural' in Hindi — Madras University Publication, 1958.

3 Article No. I in 'Kala Araichi' by Dr. M. Rajamanikkam and 'Tamil Studies' by M. Srinivasa Iyengar p. 8.

4 'Kala Araichi' — P. 7.

Tolkappiam states that as listed by earlier grammarians —

(1) There are 30 alphabetical characters in Tamil beginning from 'a' (அ) to ṉ (ன) alveolar (Sutra No. 1), (excluding āyudam ஃ — Sutra No. 2).

(2) Among them a, i, u, e and o (அ, இ, உ, எ, ஒ) are short vowels (Sutra No. 3).

(3) a:, i:, u:, e:, ai, o:, au (ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஓ, ஔ) are long vowels (Sutra No. 4).

(4) k, c, ṭ, t, p, ṛ (க, ச, ட, த, ப, ற) are hard consonants (வல்லெழுத்து) (Voiceless surds).

(5) ng, nj, ṇ, n, m, ṉ (ங, ஞ, ண, ந, ம, ன) are nasals (மெல்லெழுத்து) (Sutra No. 20).

(6) y, r, l, v, ḷ, ẓ (ய, ர, ல, வ, ள, ழ) are semi vowels (இடை எழுத்து) (Sutra No. 21).

It is surprising that this alphabetical system continued unchanged for centuries and was repeated in *Nannool*, a classical grammar of about the 12th Century A.D. Medeavial Tamil grammars like *Veerasoliam* etc. have also followed the same system, which proves the self-sufficiency of these alphabets to the needs of Tamil language.

The Nagari alphabet as has been well illustrated by a great many Oriental and Occidental scholars, has its roots in the Brahmi alphabet of the Ashoka and pre-Ashoka period. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, Pt. Keshavdeo Mishra, Dr. Dhirendra Varma and others have established that the origin of the Nagari characters is to be traced to the Brahmi alphabet. It is needless to repeat their arguments here, but I shall draw attention only to the fact that this system again has not had any

marked change in its phonetic values and remains as they are in to-day's Hindi, i.e.—

Vowels :

अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (अं, अ:) Total — 12.

Consonants :

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ				(Five Vargas) Total — 25.
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ				
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण				
त	थ	द	ध	न				
प	फ	ब	भ	म				
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह	(Semi Vowels and Sibilants and 'h') Total — 8.

Here it is worth mentioning that all indigenous Indian alphabets other than Tamil have taken to this order of the Brahmi, though a few with minor changes, e.g. Asami has the long and short 'e'; Marathi has no ng and nj (ङ and ञ) ; Oriya surprisingly enough has a separate alphabet for 'n̲' (ன) alveolar, as distinguished from n (ந) dental, (ḷ) (ள) and (ற) (ṛ) too ; Panjabi has no dha (ढ), Ṣ (ष) and has 'z' (ज़) ; while Urdu and Kashmiri follow the Persio-Arabic systems.

The other three Dravidian languages also have adopted the phonological alphabetical system of Brahmi. Their chief features are :—

In Telugu we find the short and long e and o (எ and ஒ) ; hard ṛ (ற), ẓ (ழ) although not in actual use now, and ḷ (ள) ; Kannada contains the short and long e and o, and ḷ (ள) and Malayalam has both the short and long e and o and separate alphabets for ḷ (ள), ṛ (ற) and ẓ (ழ).

Thus broadly speaking, we find only two systems of indigenous Indian alphabets, one being the Tamil and all the others following more or less the Brahmi system of alphabetical arrangements. The most important difference between the two is that Tamil has only the surds of the series of k, c, ṭ, t and p, while the other languages have their voiced and aspirated forms also. Another main feature is that Tamil is completely destitute of sibilants, i.e. Š, Ṣ and S (श, ष and स).

To trace the origin and development of these two alphabetical systems, it is not safe to depend only on the available inscriptions, especially because they are either not yet completely deciphered or are available only from 774 A.D. in the case of Tamil.[5] One has to depend to a very great extent on the material that is available from works on grammar, like those by Tolkappiar and Panini.

After a thorough study of all the Indian alphabets that were available to Dr. Caldwell, he states—

> "On the whole the question of the origination of the Indian written characters—that is, the question whether Ashoka's characters were derived from Dravidian or the Dravidian from Ashoka's—does not yet appear to me to be conclusively settled."[6]

By Dravidian, he means the ancient Tamil characters. It must be remembered here that he had before him only *Nannool* of the 12th century, as he does not appear to have read *Tolkappiam,* nor had he the advantages of the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa and the archeological researches of Father H. Heras, Sir John Marshal and others.[7] These later researches were made known to the world only from 1923. Mr. Ellis is of the opinion that 'Tamils were acquainted with the art of writing much before

5 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages' — Dr. Caldwell, p. 127, 3rd Edition, Madras University, 1956.

6. *Ibid,* p. 128.

7 *Ibid.,* p. 128.

the immigration of Aryans into the Tamil country'.[8] Mr. Edward Thomas also agrees, though partially, and says that "the earliest characters in which Sanskrit or the Prakrits were expressed — that is, the characters used in Ashoka's edicts — to have had a Dravidian origin . . . . . and that the principal change effected when the 'normal Dravidian alphabet' was converted into the 'Prakrit or Lat alphabet', consisted in the system of means adopted for the expression of the aspirants."[9]

Dr. Burnell, a scholar of repute in Palaeography, after a considerable effort to trace the origin of the Tamil character and its relationship with the Brahmi, categorically states, "The ultimate origin of Vattezhuttu (which is recognized as an ancient form of Tamil script) is again a difficult problem in Indian Palaeography. . . . . . It is impossible to suppose that the Vattezhuttu is derived from the S. Ashoka character, even if the conclusive argument of the dissimilarity between the phonetic values of many of the corresponding letters be neglected."[10] He continues: "Again the S. Ashoka character would have furnished a more complete representation of the Tamil phonetic system that either the Vattezhuttu or the modern (Grantha) Tamil alphabet does; it must, therefore, follow that the alphabet was formed and settled before the Sanskrit grammarians came to South India or we should find as accurate a representation as they effected for Telugu and Kanarese"[11]

Mr. E. Thomas believes that the Ashoka alphabets have their roots in the Dravidian, and states in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, V. pp. 420-3 as follows :—

> "The Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were in all

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[10] 'South Indian Paleaography', Dr. Burnell, p. 49.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the Science of Writing." [12]

Between the Brahmi from which Hindi and other North Indian alphabets are derived and Tamil, there is a lacuna in this field of research which has still to be filled.

I would like to pose a few problems here and stimulate the minds of those interested in this subject. It is essential however to discard preconceived notions and subjective prejudices if we are to arrive at the truth. One Hindi scholar for instance, begins his essay by saying that 'the characters of Nagari have very little relationship with the South Indian languages and their scripts'.[13] Mr. T. N. Subramaniam takes for granted that 'the Brahmi is the root of all the scripts of India,'[14] but later questions as to why the earlier forms of the Brahmi character of the period of Ashoka are not available to us. He concludes by saying that there ought to have been other scripts earlier to the Brahmi script and that they might have become extinct due to 'some reason or the other'. He also states that the Brahmi was not originally invented for Sanskrit or Prakrit, implying that Brahmi might have been evolved to fulfil the needs perhaps of Tamil. He asserts that Tamil alone contains the basic quality which could have given rise to the Brahmi characters, basing his conclusion on the materials obtained from the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa.[15] He finally says that no definite statement can be made about the origin of the Brahmi.[16] About South India he believes that some script must have been prevalent there before the advent of the Brahmi in the 3rd Century B.C., which in turn ousted the then existing script. With all the evidence available in *Tolkappiam*, and the fact that the system described there is in use even

12 See Dr. Burnell's 'S. I. Paleaography', p. 4.
13 'Nagri Ank aur Akshar' by Ojha and Mishra, p. 22.
14 'Pandai Tamil Ezhuttukkal', p. 101.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

today in Tamilnad, it seems strange that such conclusions should be arrived at by scholars.

Let us try to arrive at definite conclusions basing them on known facts:

(1) Looking at all the alphabetical systems so far adopted in India and outside, we do find a remarkable resemblance between the Tamil and the Nagari or the Brahmi from the phonological point of view. Both have the same order of vowels and consonants—

Vowels: a, a:, i, i:, u, u:, e, (e:), ai, o (o:), and au.

Consonants: k (k^h, g, g^h,) ng; c (c^h, j, j^h,) nj ṭ (ṭ^h, ḍ, ḍ^h) ṇ; t (t^h, d, d^h) n; p (p^h, b, b^h) m; y, r, l, v.

This surprising similarity leads us to the inescapable conclusion that the two systems could not have had absolutely independent origin and development. One must have either developed from the other or both must have evolved from a common and more ancient system.

(2) Hindi and all the North Indian Languages belong to the Indo-European family of languages, and have been classified as Indo-Aryan group of languages. It is only in the writing system of this Indo-Aryan group of languages, all of which have adopted the Brahmi, that we DO NOT FIND the two cardinal sounds 'f' and 'z' or the script for them, while they find a place in all the other scripts of the languages of Indo-European group of languages. In (Arabic, Persian) Urdu, for example, we have 'Zoe', 'Zwad', 'Ze' and 'Zal' for z and 'fe' for f. These two characters ARE NOT FOUND in Tamil as well.

(3) In all the alphabets other than Tamil and those derived from Brahmi, we find only two nasals 'n' and 'm',

e.g., in Arabic Persian and Urdu 'noon' and 'meem' only, but in Tamil alone we find six nasals ng, nj, ṇ, n, m and n̲ (ங, ஞ, ண, ந, ம, ன). In Brahmi we find one less than Tamil but three more than all the others. This feature shows the intimate relationship between these two systems. We have naturally to pose two questions as to (i) why it is that f and z are not found both in Tamil and Brahmi and also as to (ii) why it is that these two systems alone have as many as six and five nasals respectively whereas all the other alphabets of the world have only two. We should also think about the significance of the two nasals n and n̲, one dental and the other alveolar being in Tamil right from the pre-*Tolkappiyam* era, though their phonetic value is close to each other.

(4) Brahmi has k, k^h, g, and g^h i.e., the basic surd 'k' which is a velar stop, is aspirated, voiced and again aspirated. So also have c, ṭ, t and p. This system has invariably been adopted by all those characters which have come after the Brahmi. Not only Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam have followed this developed system but Grantha Tamil script also have adopted all these forms. It is only in Tamil that we do not find the symbols for aspirated or voiced sounds. Why is it so right from the pre-*Tolkappiyam* period ?

Tamils have certainly evolved very significant rules by which the same symbol for a surd represents a voiceless sound in the initial position, an aspirated voiceless sound if preceded by another surd, a voiced sound if preceded by a nasal, a sibilant sound if preceded by a semivowel, the script remaining the same. As in English, aspiration has never been phonemic in Tamil unlike in Hindi, Sanskrit, etc.

Whether in the field of linguistics or in any field of natural science, development has necessarily to be from the simple to the complex and never the other way round.

It appears to be natural that a simple system of alphabet should have given rise to a more elaborate system. The Brahmi and in turn the Nagari or Hindi script with their more elaborate system, must have evolved from a much simpler form.

(5) It must, however, be observed that the visual forms of the alphabets in both the systems have been undergoing considerable changes from time to time. The changes have been very clearly expounded by scholars of both Hindi and Tamil. It may be argued that some earlier form might have given rise to both the systems. But it must not be overlooked that Tamil has shown no change in its phonetic system from the pre-*Tolkappiyam* period, for we have even today the same thirty alphabets in the Tamil script. As Tamil is declared to be 'the most ancient and living language' of the world, it could be possible that its system of writing was also the most ancient.

(6) The position may therefore be summed up thus:

(a) Tamil and Brahmi alphabets could not have come up to the present form quite independently of each other—(Vide No. 1 supra)

(b) Tamil alphabets could not have been borrowed from the Brahmi, for the natural growth should be from the simple to the complex, known to the unknown, simple to the elaborate—(Vide No. 4 supra).

(c) Tamil has been phonetically unchanged right from the pre-*Tolkappiyam* period of the 4th century B.C. to the present day and so the argument of a third common source is unlikely—(Vide No. 5).

(d) Thus we are left only with one possibility, viz., Brahmi evolving its elaborate system out of the simpler alphabetical system of Tamil. This is confirmed by their common features, both negative as well as positive

—(Vide Nos. 2 and 3) i.e., absence of f and z in Brahmi and Tamil on one side, and Brahmi possessing five nasals out of the six of Tamil, n̲ (ண) alone being left out which is not necessary phonemically for the Indo-Aryan languages and hence its absence in Brahmi, though phonetically here also the difference does exist, e.g., 'n' in 'bandhu' is dental, and in 'kannika' it is alveolar, but still the same script is used when written as बन्धु and कन्निका.

Hence the conclusion appears to be that Tamil alphabet stands as the root of Nagari and all the other indigenous alphabets of India.

[This is a revised form of the paper read at the All India Oriental Conference held at Bhuvaneshwar in October 1959 with Dr. Sukumar Sen in the Chair. Here, I should like to express to him my deep gratitude for his support and encouragement, and as one who attended the classes conducted by him on 'Linguistics—Introduction to Indo-European'.]

Tamil Words in Indonesian and Malayan Languages

AUDILAKSHMI ANJANEYULU

It is well known that ancient India, particularly peninsular India, had trade relations with the West as well as the East. While the contacts with ancient Rome, Greece and other Western countries were limited to trade and commerce, those with the Eastern lands, now known as Indonesia and Malaya, extended to the spheres of linguistic, cultural and social life. South Indian merchants sailed east to make their first contacts with Indonesia, China, the Malay peninsula and the eastern archipelago, in the early years before the Christian era. The extent of the Hindu influence on these far-off lands can be imagined from the vivid phrase 'India beyond the Ganges' applied to them by Ptolemy.

We learn from the accounts of historians that when the Indian traders first landed in these countries the local inhabitants had just started using metal for making tools and utensils. The first Tamils who brought Indian civilisation to these places might have prepared the ground for the later and more widespread Hindu colonisation under the Imperial Cholas. We have the support of Dutch historian Winstedt, among others, for the impression that the Hindu impact on these lands was not a sudden or a violent affair. It was, on the other hand, a slow and gradual process. "A ship or so", says Winstedt, "came with monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tea, ivory, camphor..... Here and there a passenger practised magic that proved patent in war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides....."

References to the ports from where the South Indian merchants sailed for the Eastern lands are provided in the Periplus of Erythrian Sea. The three great ports mentioned are Kaveripattinam (Puhar), Poduca (Pondicherry) and Sopatna (Sopattinam, later known as Markanam). Ptolemy says that another port of departure for the sailors of South India lay near the vicinity of Chicacole (Srikakulam) in Andhra. The Chinese pilgrims Fahein and I-tsing refer to Tamralipti also as a port from where there were direct sailings across the Bay of Bengal. There was a direct sea route between Kedah and Nagapattinam. While all the eastern ports of India upto Tamralipti contributed to the expansion of trade, the south is known to have had the largest share. The route followed by the sailors seems to have been across the Bay of Bengal and along the narrow sea between the Andamans and the Nicobar group of islands.

The earliest Tamils were not content to be mere traders. They became settlers also. This can be gauged from the names of certain tribes among the Bataks of Indonesia which bear a striking similarity to Tamil names.

Tjoliya — Coliyan சோழியன்

Palawi — Pallava பல்லவர்.

Takang — Tekkaṇam தெக்கணம்

Tekkanamuna — Tekkaṇamunai (Kumari) தெக்கணமுனை.

Pandiya — Pandiya பாண்டியர்.

There is also another tribe called Kalingese said to be from Kalinga (east coast of South India). Prof. H. Kern, the Dutch scholar, says that the habits of these tribes differ considerably from those of the rest of the population. These tribes belong to a tribe known as 'Simberings' which is one of the five main tribes of the Karo-Bataks. Many of the Tamil words taken over in the Malayan language are also met with in the Karo-Bataks' language and

in their form they are often nearer to the Tamil than the Malayan form.

Evidence regarding the earliest script used in Indonesia lend support to the view that the alphabets of 'Farther India' are of South Indian origin with a predominence of the Pallava influence. A glance at the monuments of art and architecture also shows the presence of similar influence in another field. Historians and students of architecture see more than a casual resemblance between the monolithic rathas of Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram constructed in 7th century A.D. by the Pallavas) and the ancient Hindu monuments of the East.

References in ancient Tamil literature throw light on the brisk trade carried on between South India and the countries under discussion. The author of Paṭṭinappālai mentions among the imports which poured into the Chola port, 'Kaḷagattu akkam' which is explained as consumer goods from Kadaram which place is identified with 'Kedah' on the west coast of the Malayan peninsula (Kaḷagam is identified with Kaḍaram in the geographical section of Divākaram, the ancient Tamil lexicon). In Silappadikāram (2nd century A.D.) Ilango Adigal refers to the fleet of ships entering the Pandyan capital laden with silk, sandal and spices when he describes 'Konḍal' — the eastern wind. The remnants of these trade ties continued till very recently and Dr. K. Ronkel, the Dutch philologist, points out that in Malaya there used to be a tradition of learning Tamil among the trading community.

The trade relations flourishing between these countries received a new impetus under the imperial Cholas. During the reigns of Rajaraja and Rajendra Chola the Chola empire developed into a great naval power and the Sri Vijaya Kingdom was more closely connected with South India. Though the Cholas were a Dravidian race with Tamil as their mother tongue, they patronised Sanskrit along with Tamil and used it for inscriptions, and

other ceremonial purposes. It is likely that by the time of Rajaraja and Rajendra (10th and 11th centuries A.D.) the influence of Aryan culture had spread in South India along with basic Hindu ideals of kingship. It is not improbable that the Cholas had accepted such of the Aryan traditions and practices as were not antagonistic to their time-honoured native principles which formed the Dravidian code of conduct. For instance crossing seas was deemed a sin by the ancient Aryans. But it is a matter of pride for the Dravidians from time immemorial to brave the waves and cross the seas in search of wealth. The survivals of Hindu culture and Aryan ritual here are not necessarily incompatible with the Dravidian way of life spread by the Cholas. But ideas peculiar to the Tamil people (sailors, merchants or kings) could have gone only through the men of adventure from the south.

A glance at some of the words which the present writer happened to stumble upon in some dictionaries (as also in the conversation of some Indonesian friends) will show how deep rooted has been the Tamil element in the Indonesian vocabulary, and how closely interwoven are the strands of Tamil words and ideas into the variegated texture of the life and language of the people of the Malayan peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago.

It is natural that when a foreign people come in their ships, the first thing that the natives see is the sail of the vessel. The word for sail in Indonesian language is 'Kandai' which in Tamil means a piece of torn cloth. No wonder that a sail looks like a mere piece of cloth. Now this word is used not only for the sail, but for the long forked pennon hoisted on sailing or merchant vessels. The word for a ship is a 'Kapal', the same as in Tamil, the only difference being (if difference it can be called) it is pronounced with a single 'p'. We notice that in the Indonesian language the double consonants are rarely pronounced as in Indian languages. They are treated like

single consonants. The word appears in combinations such as 'Kapal Asap' (Steam ship) Kapal Selam (a submersible ship or submarine) Kapal terbang (airship i.e., aeroplane) where it is used to describe other related objects as well. As with other sea-faring nations the idea of a ship comes in for emphasis or analogy in conversations connected with life in general. For instance, 'Kapal satu nakhoda dua' (two captains to one ship) is a proverb which can be applied to two rivals in love, aspirants to the same job etc.

Articles of merchandise also appear in the same form as they are found in Tamil. Mutu (also Mutiara and Mutia) for pearl, pualam for coral (the Tamil form being pavalam), wairam for diamond (Setti-wairam—diamond imported by merchants), 'Inja' for ginger (the Tamil word is Inji), Chukku, dried ginger, Kaḍalai or Kedalai for beans or Bengalgram, 'Mangga' or mango, Murungga for drumstick—are but a few of the numerous words of common occurrence.

From merchandise we can proceed to shops and merchants. While Kadai, Kedai (a and e are often interchangeable in Indonesian) meaning a shop is retained in the same form, the word for merchant shows a slight variation in meaning. Tjeti (Chetti) which is only a caste suffix for the trading community in South India is used as a generic term in Indonesian meaning a merchant, trader or a money-lender. In South India also, while a man belonging to the community may have the name of Ramasami Chetty or Subbiah Chetty, he may not necessarily be a trader or a merchant in the modern economic set-up. Sometimes a shop-keeper is referred to by the unlettered folk as Chetty, though he may not belong to that community by birth. This provides a close parallel to the Indonesian usage.

Gudang meaning a godown is probably from Tamil Kidangu (கிடங்கு). Banijan pronounced as Banian is

the Tamil Vaniyam. The interchangeability of 'Ja' and 'Ya' is a common feature in many Indian languages (e.g., Jantra—Yantra; Jamuna—Yamuna, etc.). 'Kuli' as in Tamil is used for unskilled labour, labourer as well as the wages paid to him. 'Modal' (correct form, mudal) in Tamil means beginning or the capital invested in any enterprise (i.e., money put in at the beginning) has only the latter meaning in the Indonesian language. Koot(t)u retains the Tamil meaning of Co-operative or any chitfund or similar collective enterprise.

Terms devoting family relationships provide an interesting commentary on social life. They appear in almost the same form as in Tamil. 'Akak' (k at the end of a word is not pronounced) for elder sister; 'Mamak' for the maternal uncle, 'Mami' for maternal uncle's wife, has undergone little change in meaning or pronunciation. 'Tambi' however has undergone a semantic change worthy of attention. Though it originally meant younger brother as in Tamil, it was later used for young man or boy and has now acquired the specific meaning of an errand-boy.

Following is an illustrative, not an exhaustive, list of words that one may come across in the Indonesian obviously of Tamil origin appearing either in identical or slightly changed in form:—

Apam — Cooked cake made of flour. அப்பம்

Badai — Whirlwind; storm வாடை

Belanggu — hand-cuffs விலங்கு

Benan
Benara } Washerman வண்ணான்

Besi
Bisi } Dancing damsel வேசி

Che, Chis — expression for indignation and contempt சே, சீ

Chukku — Dried gambier root சுக்கு

Inja — ginger இஞ்சி

Tjerpu, tcharpu — shoes செருப்பு

Tjer pelai, Tchir pilai — Mongoose கீரிப்பிள்ளை

Gundu — round, ball-like குண்டு

Gurdi — to auger, drill குழி cf. குழிதல் — being hollow, or become hollow.

Iddah — time elapsed between any two transactions. Now it is confined to the period during which widows should not marry. (Cf. Tamil இடை = interval).

Kanji — 1. Water in which rice has been boiled.
2. Rice gruel.
3. Boiled broken rice with water. } கஞ்சி

Kattil — bedstead கட்டில்

Katlum — Bastion, also Ketulum, the corresponding Tamil word is Kottalam கொத்தளம்

Kawal — to watch, and watchman, patrol, guard, of keeping guard over a place காவல்

Makin ber kawal makin kechurian—the more they guarded the more numerous the thefts became.

Ketumber — coriander ;
Biji ketumber — coriander seed. } cf. கொத்துமல்லி

Kedumik — small tuft of hair on man's head. The Tamil word is Kudumi குடுமி.

Kolam — pond, reservoir, pool குளம்

Kota — fortified place or fort wall கோட்டை

Kuda — horse குதிரை

Kūdai — basket; a mat work basket rather roughly made used for carrying fish கூடை

Kuil — temple. The Tamil word is Koyil கோயில்

Kulai — hanging down slackly; swaying குலை

Kundai — Coiffure of any sort and hair in particular. Konde in Javanese cf. கொண்டை = மயிர்முடி hair-knot.

Keldai, Kaldai — ass; donkey கழுதை

Lebai — a section of South Indian Tamil speaking Muslims. லப்பை

Lecham, Litchum — a lakh (1,00,000) லட்சம்

Mālai — flower garlands, also Male மாலை

Manikkam — gem, precious stone, quintessence etc. மாணிக்கம்

Marikan, Marikar — rich merchant, sometimes used as a title மரைக்காயர்

Matia — a thin cushion quilt for sitting on. Also metai. (Cf. metai) மெத்தை

Mina — fish. Gaja-mina — whale, sea-monster மீன்.

Mudali, Madali — Drum or some similar musical instrument (only in Sumatra) மத்தளம்

Peti — box, casket. பெட்டி

Putu — sweet eatable prepared with rice. (Cf. Tamil Piṭṭu) பிட்டு

Perisai — shield (Cf. Tamil Parisai) பரிசை

Mīsa — moustache மீசை

Mutu — pearl (also Mutiara and Mutia) முத்து

Nali — a wink of a moment நாழி

Puwadai — Any bed dress or cloth spread on the way in honour of a prince. பூவாடை

Pudi — powder பொடி

Ranggi — pert, smart, showing of one's own self-importance ராங்கி

Satai — flesh சதை

Settiwairam — Diamonds traded by merchants செட்டி வைரம்

Surutu — tobacco roll சுருட்டு

Taer — curds (at present not found in Indonesian) தயிர்

Turusi, Tursi — Vitriol. துருசு, துத்தம்.

Tirai — Partition, curtain திரை

Negari — township or polity; now state or Government is called nagar நகர்

Tchemmati, Tchemati — hammer சம்மட்டி

Maligai — tower palace. மாளிகை

Onde — ball shape; usually a small ball of glutinous rice flour with palm sugar inside, the ball being rolled in grated coconut உருண்டை

Pria — man; periay — noble man; in Java an official.

Matjam — stain மச்சம்

Kendi — a small vessel with a small mouth கிண்டி

Wepalai — margosa வேப்பிலை

While all the words mentioned above appear in the Malayan language also, there are so many other words of Tamil origin, or of Sanskrit origin through the Tamil medium which have survived in a different form after undergoing certain semantic and formative changes. (The word Malaya is itself held to be derived from Tamil 'Malai' meaning mountain and used to describe a mountainous country Malaiya, 'ya' ending for substantives is common in the Malayan language). Many terms that have Malayan endings will, on a close examination, be found to be of Tamil parentage in their root meaning. We can conveniently describe them as Tamil words in Malayan garb. They easily merge in the local language and are accepted as such, like a Tamil worker on the rubber plantations with a Malayan sarang.

For instance, let us take the word 'atjuan' which is a verb in Malayan meaning to form, mould or model. This takes from the stem 'Atju'—Achu (அச்சு) in Tamil which means a mould (noun). The ending 'an' is added by analogy (not quite correct in this case) as in the case of substantives as tuladan, timbangam etc.

There are some words in Malayan ending in Elai, Helai, or lai. This suffix probably goes back to the Tamil word 'Ilai' meaning leaf. But this syllabic stem is added on to another word to enumerate, thin and flat object like banana leaves, betel leaves, sheets of paper etc., e.g. 'tiga helai kertas' means three sheets of paper.

The Tamil word 'aṇḍai' which means proximity has evidently undergone some changes in form; 'andai' in Malayan means possibility (nearness to a fact or a happening). Samdainja (sa+andai+ja) means which is closer, it is probable that it is a common colloquial expression. Mandai mandai (M + andai) to compare (to show the nearness or similarity between two objects. M is a consonantal prefix here, not uncommon in Malayan and the

repetition, the doubling of the word, is a common feature in the language.

The Tamil—'Tandu' as in Valaittandu meaning the stem of plant or tree is also used for a bamboo stick. As this is applied to the bamboo poles which form part of the carriage which is borne on the shoulders of men in climbing hills and mountains (have we not seen the ḍoli when going up the Tirupati hills?) it might have by a sort of synecdoche — where the part is put for the whole — acquired the meaning of the carriage itself. This palanquinlike carriage was the usual mode of transport for the aristocracy in old Malaya.

Chāndu in Tamil is the thick black or red liquid applied as a mark on the face. We know that it is used by an extension of the meaning to any thick sticky liquid, as for instance molten tar, or even mud or clay. The word Tchandu in Malayan means opium which is also thick, black and sticky.

While the noun 'sāṇam' (whetstone or grindstone) of Tamil becomes the Malayan verb denoting to scratch, sharpen or polish (as in the case of metals and precious stones) it has not undergone any formative change except the cerelegal 'n' becoming dental 'n' as in 'Vānam'.

The word 'Pendam' meaning to fix to the ground or in metal, etc. probably traces back to Sanskrit 'bandha' which appears in Tamil as Pandam. 'Pandam' in Malayan also is a sort of gum used for fixing the blade of a knife to its handle. The initial voiced consonant 'b' changing into an unvoiced consonant (Sonant into a surd) and the adding of the 'am' termination are peculiar to Tamil. It will help us to conclude that even if the word be of Sanskritic origin it had come to the new language through its Tamil form. Similarly 'Pandu' meaning captain, boy scout, guide, etc., similarly goes back in its root meaning, to the Sanskrit 'bandhu' meaning relative, well-wisher

or friend. Just as a good relative is expected to be a guide, guardian and caretaker, so are the captain of the ship and the scout.

'Pittam' which means giddiness caused by bile or gall is closer in this sense to the Sanskrit term 'Pitta' which refers to biliousness according to the theory of secretions in the body (vāta, pitta, slēshma) which are supposed to lead to certain upsets, physical or mental. But it has also the allied meaning of mental disorder indicated by the similar word in Tamil 'Paithiyam'.

The Tamil 'Kuṭṭai' meaning 'short' appears with slight change of form in Malayan and Indonesian as well Katai, Katik are the words for short of stature or dwarfish and Kattaiyan. (Tamil Kuttai + an = Kuttaiyan) and 'Kuttaichi' is quite obviously the Tamil Kuṭṭachi. The 'an' termination for the masculine and the suffix 'achi' for the feminine are bodily taken from the Tamil practice.

Muṇḍam which in Tamil refers to a shaven head in its literal sense (and is used sometime as a term of abuse for a worthless young fellow) refers in Malayan to a big round vessel without any handle to hold. The same word is applied to an entirely different object, evidently from the close similarity in shape.

The few words presented in the foregoing survey were gleaned by a sort of random sampling from chance acquaintance with books on linguistics and dictionaries as well as casual talks with Indonesian[1] and other scholars[2]. A more thorough investigation for which the writer could not find the time and other facilities, might throw up more interesting corners in the unwritten pages of the history of Indo-Indonesian relations.

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[1] Prof. Usman Effendi, Professor of Indonesian, Leningrad University, U.S.S.R.

[2] Mrs. Tricman, a Dutch woman, settled in Leningrad and a specialist of Indonesian language and culture (Malayan as well) of the Ethnological Institute in Leningrad.

As we delve into the field of vocabulary in the Indonesian and Malayan languages, we would have noticed that as we cut through the layers of Sanskrit and Arabic and go deeper and deeper, many a Tamil word in all its pristine purity shows up from the bedrock of the local soil. It is well to remember that the Tamil language had gone to those far-off lands, not following the flag or the church as other languages did in later years. It spread far and wide along with the prized Indian goods wafted across the waters in the sea-worthy vessels plied by the members of a maritime race. Needless to add that the ties are nonetheless enduring for being the less spectacular.

சிறுபாணன் சென்ற பெருவழி

மயிலை சீனி. வேங்கடசாமி

சிறுபாணாற்றுப் படை என்பது பத்துப்பாட்டில் ஒரு பாட்டு. நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனர் என்னும் புலவர், நல்லியக்கோடன் என்னும் வள்ளலைப் பாடியது சிறுபாணாற்றுப் படை. இதில் நல்லியக்கோடனிடம் சென்று பரிசு பெறும்படி நத்தத்தனர் ஒரு பாணனை ஆற்றுப்படுத்துகிறர். (ஆறு=வழி. ஆற்றுப்படுத்தல்=வழிகூறுதல்.)

சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படையின் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனுகிய நல்லியக்கோடன், ஒய்மா நாட்டின் அரசன். எயிற்பட்டினம், மாவிலங்கை, கிடங்கில் முதலிய ஊர்கள், இவனுக்கு உரியன. ஆகவே, எயிற்பட்டின நாடன், மாவிலங்கை மன்னன், கிடங்கிற்கோமான் என்று போற்றப்படுகிறன். ஓவியர் குலத்தில் பிறந்தவனுகலின் ஓவியர் பெருமகன் என்றும் கூறப்படுகிறன்.

"தொன்மா விலங்கைக் கருவொடு பெயரிய
நன்மா விலங்கை மன்னருள்ளும்
மறுவின்றி விளங்கிய வடுவில் வாய்வாள்
உறுபுலித் துப்பின் ஓவியர் பெருமகன்"

என்றும் (சிறுபாண்-120-122)

"இழுமென ஒலிக்கும் புனலம் புதவிற்
பெருமா விலங்கைத் தலைவன் சீறியாழ்
இல்லோர் சொன்மலை நல்லியக் கோடன்"

என்றும் (புறம். 176) புகழப்படுகிறன்.

நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனர், நல்லியக்கோடனுடைய தலைநகரமான கிடங்கில் என்னும் ஊருக்குச் சிறுபாணனை ஆற்றுப் படுத்திய வழியை ஆராய்ந்து படம் வரைந்து காட்டுவதே இக்கட்டுரையின் நோக்கம். சிறுபாணன், கிடங்கிலை நோக்கிச் சென்ற பெருவழியின் இடையிலே எயிற்பட்டினம், வேலூர், ஆமூர் என்னும் ஊர்கள் இருந்தன.

எயிற்பட்டினம் என்பது கிழக்குக் கடற்கரை ஓரமாக இருந்த ஓர் துறைமுகப் பட்டினம். எயிற்பட்டினத்தைச் சூழ்ந்து மதிற்

சுவர் கோட்டையாக அமைந்திருந்தது. ஆகவே, இது எயில் பட்டினம் என்றும் சோ பட்டினம் என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது. (எயில் என்றாலும் சோ என்றாலும் மதில் என்பது பொருள்.)

"பாடல் சான்ற நெய்தல் நெடுவழி
மணிநீர் வைப்பு மதிலொடு பெயரிய
பனிநீர் படுவிற் பட்டினம்"

என்று இப்பட்டினம் (சிறுபாண். 151 - 153) கூறப்படுகிறது.

கடல் ஓரமாக நெய்தல் நிலத்திலே இருந்த எயிற் பட்டினத்துக்கு மேற்கே குறிஞ்சி நிலத்திலே, நல்லியக்கோடனுடைய தலை நகரமான கிடங்கில் என்னும் ஊர் இருந்தது. இதனை,

"குறிஞ்சிக் கோமான் கொய்தளிர்க் கண்ணிச்
செல்லிசை நிலைஇய பண்பின்
நல்லியக் கோடன்"

என்று (சிறுபாண். 267 - 269) ஆற்றுப்படை கூறுகிறது.

நெய்தல் நிலத்து எயிற் பட்டினத்துக்கும் குறிஞ்சி நிலத்துக் கிடங்கிலுக்கும் இடையிலே வேலூர், ஆமூர் என்னும் ஊர்கள் இருந்தன. இவ்வூர்கள் எல்லாம் ஓய்மா நாட்டில் அடங்கியிருந்தன. ஓய்மா நாடு என்பது இப்போதைய தென் ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் திண்டிவனம் தாலுகாவில் இருந்தது.

சிறுபாணன் சென்ற பெரு வழியைப் பார்ப்பதற்கு முன்னர் நத்தத்தனார் இருந்த ஊரை அறிய வேண்டும். இவர் நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனார் என்று கூறப்படுகிறார். தமிழ் நாட்டிலே நல்லூர் என்னும் பெயருள்ள ஊர்கள் பல உள்ளன. நத்தத்தனார் இருந்த நல்லூர் எது என்று இடர்ப்படாதபடி, இடைகழி நாட்டு நல்லூர் நத்தத்தனார் என்று கூறப்படுகிறார்.

இடைகழி நாடு என்பது எது? இடைகழி நாடு இப்போது எடக்கு நாடு என்று வழங்கப்படுகிறது. எடக்குநாடு என்பது இடைகழி நாடு என்பதன் திரிபு. இடைகழிநாடாகிய எடக்கு நாடு, செங்கற்பட்டுமாவட்டத்தில் மதுராந்தகம் தாலுகாவில் இருக்கிறது. இந்த எடக்கு (இடைகழி) நாட்டிலே இப்போதும் ஒரு நல்லூர் என்னும் சிற்றூர் இருக்கிறது. இந்த இடைகழி நாட்டு நல்லூரிலே நத்தத்தனார் என்னும் புலவர் வாழ்ந்தவராதல் வேண்டும். இடைகழி நாட்டுக்கு அண்மையிலே, தெற்குப் பக்கத்திலே நல்லியக் கோடனுடைய ஓய்மா நாடு இருந்தது.

இனி, நத்தத்தனுர் சிறுபாணனை ஆற்றுப்படுத்திய பெருவழி யைக் காண்போம். இடைகழி நாட்டு நல்லூரிலிருந்து தெற்கே சென்ருல், ஒய்மா நாட்டின் கிழக்குப்பகுதியாகிய பட்டின நாட்டை அடையலாம். பட்டின நாடு கடற்கரையைச் சார்ந்த நாடு. பட் டின நாட்டிலே கடற்கரை ஓரமாக எயில் (சோ) பட்டினமும் துறை முகமும் இருந்தன. ஒய்மா நாட்டின் கடற்கரைப் பகுதியாகிய பட்டின நாடு, பெரும்பான்மையும் நீரும் நிலமுமாக அமைந் திருந்தபடியினுலே, அது மாவிலங்கை என்று பெயர் பெற்றது.

கடற்கரை ஓரமாக நீரும் நிலமும் ஆக அமைந்த இடம் இலங்கை என்று பெயர் பெறும். ஆறுகள் கடலில் கலக்கிற இடத்தில் கிளைகளாகப் பிரிந்து இடையிடையே நீரும் திடலுமாக அமைவது உண்டு. அன்றியும் காயல் என்னும் பெயருள்ள நீர்த் தேக்கமும் கடற்கரை ஓரமாக அமைவதும் உண்டு. இவ்வாறு நீரும் திடலுமாக அமைந்த இடத்தை லங்கா (இலங்கை) என்று ஆந்திர நாட்டவர் இன்றும் வழங்குவர். நீரும், திடலுமாக அமைந் திருந்த பட்டின நாடு மாவிலங்கை என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது. (லங்கா அல்லது இலங்கை என்பது பழைய திராவிட மொழிச் சொல் எனத் தோன்றுகிறது.) இப்போதும் ஒய்மா நாட்டு மாவிலங் கைப் பகுதியில் ஏரிகளும் ஓடைகளும் உப்பளங்களும் காணப்படு கின்றன.

ஒய்மா நாட்டின் கடற்கரைப் பகுதியாகிய பட்டின நாட்டிலே, (மாவிலங்கையிலே), கடற்கரை ஓரத்தில் எயில் (சோ) பட்டினம் இருந்ததென்று கூறினேம். பண்டைக் காலத்தில் இருந்த எயிற் பட்டினம் இப்போது மறைந்து விட்டது. அந்த இடத்தில் இப் போது மரக்காணம் என்னும் ஊர் இருக்கிறது. இவ்வூரில் பிற் காலச் சோழர்களின் சாசன எழுத்துக்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இந்தச் சாசனங்களிலே, 'ஒய்மா நாட்டுப் பட்டின நாட்டு மரக் காணம்' என்றும் 'ஒய்மா நாட்டுப் பட்டின நாட்டுப் பட்டினம்' என்றும் 'பட்டின நாட்டு எயிற் பட்டினம்' என்றும் இவ்வூர் கூறப் படுகிறது. எனவே, பழைய எயிற்பட்டினந்தான் பிற்காலத்தில் மரக்காணம் என்று பெயர் பெற்றது என்று கருதலாம். இலக்கண விளக்கப் பரம்பரை சோமசுந்தர தேசிகர் அவர்கள் இப்போதைய கூடலூர்தான் பழைய எயிற்பட்டினம் என்று கருதுகிருர். (Identification of Sopatama by S. S. Desikar. pp. 129-140. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXI.) அது தவறு. கூடலூர் துறைமுகம் பிற்காலத்திலே, ஐரோப்பிய வர்த்தகர்களால் அமைக்கப்பட்ட துறைமுகமாகும். ஆகவே, கூடலூரைப் பழைய எயிற்பட்டினம் என்று கூறுவது தவருகும்.

இடைகழி நாட்டு நல்லூரிலிருந்து புறப்பட்டுச் சென்ற சிறு பாணன், ஓய்மா நாட்டுத் துறைமுகப் பட்டினமாகிய எயிற் பட்டினத்துக்குச் சென்றான். சென்றவன் அங்குத் தங்கினான். பிறகு அங்கிருந்து புறப்பட்டுத் தென்மேற்கே நெடு வழியே நடந்தான். நெடுந்தூரம் நடந்து வேலூர் என்னும் ஊரை யடைந்தான். இது முல்லை நிலத்தில் இருந்த ஊர்.

"திறல்வேல் நுதியில் பூத்த கேணி
விறல்வேல் வென்றி வேலூர் எய்தின்
உறுவெயிற் குலைஇய வுருப்பவிர் குரம்பை
எயிற்றியர் அட்ட இன்புளி வெஞ்சோறு
தேமா மேனிச் சில்வளை ஆயமொடு
ஆமான் சூட்டின் அமைவரப் பெறுகுவிர்."

என்று (சிறுபாண். 172-179) நத்தத்தனார் இந்த வேலூரைப் பாணனுக்கு அறிமுகப்படுத்துகிறார்.

இந்த வேலூரை, வட ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில், காட்பாடி ரயில் நிலயத்துக்கு அருகில் உள்ள வேலூர் என்று இலக்கண விளக்கப் பரம்பரை சோமசுந்தர தேசிகர் அவர்கள் கருதுகிறார். (Identification of Sopatama by S. S. Desikar. pp. 129-140. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXI.) இது தவறு. நத்தத்தனார் கூறுகிற வேலூர், தென் ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் ஓய்மா நாட்டில் இருக்கிறது. தேசிகர் கூறும் வேலூர், வட ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் வேறோர் இடத்தில் இருக்கிறது. இரண்டு ஊர்களும் வெவ்வேறிடங்களில் உள்ள வெவ்வேறு ஊர்கள். நத்தத்தனார் கூறும் வேலூர் அக்காலத்தில் சிறப்புற்றிருந்து. இப்போது குக்கிராமமாக இருக்கிறது. இப்போது வட ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் புகழ் பெற்று விளங்கும் வேலூர் அக்காலத்தில் இருந்ததா என்பது ஐயத்துக்கிடமாக இருக்கிறது. சிறு பாணன் சென்ற வேலூர், தென் ஆர்க்காடு மாவட்டத்தில் திண்டிவனம் தாலுகாவில், கிடங்கிலுக்கும் எயிற்பட்டினத்திற்கும் இடைவழியில் இப்போது குக்கிராமமாக இருக்கிற வேலூரே என்பதில் சிறிதும் ஐயம் இல்லை. இந்த வேலூர் ஓய்மா நாட்டு வேலூர் என்று பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது. இந்த வேலூரின் தலைவன் 'ஓய்மா நாட்டு வேலூருடையான்' என்று ஒரு சாசனத்தில் கூறப்படுகிறான். (No. 25. S. I. I. Vol. XIII.)

வேலூரில் தங்கிய சிறுபாணன், அவ்வூரிலிருந்து புறப்பட்டு வடமேற்காகச் செல்லும் பெருவழியே சென்றான். சென்று மருத நிலத்தில் உள்ள ஆமூர் என்னும் ஊரையடைந்தான்.

“மருதஞ் சான்ற மருதத் தண்பணை
அந்தணர் அருகா அருங்கடி வியநகர்
அந்தண் கிடங்கின் அவனுமூ ரெய்தின்
வலம்பட நடக்கும் வலிபுணர் எருத்தின்
உரன்கெழு நோன்பகட் டுழவர் தங்கை
பிடிக்கை யன்ன பின்னுவீழ் சிறுபுறத்துத்
தொடிக்கை மகடூஉ மகமுறை தடுப்ப
விழுங்கா லுலக்கை யிருப்புமுகந் தேய்த்த
வவைப்பு மாணரிசி யமலைவெண் சோறு
கவைத்தாள் அலவன் கலவையோடு பெறுகுவிர்.”

என்று (186 - 195) சிறுபாணனுக்கு ஆமூரில் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய உணவைக் கூறுகிறார் நத்தத்தனார்.

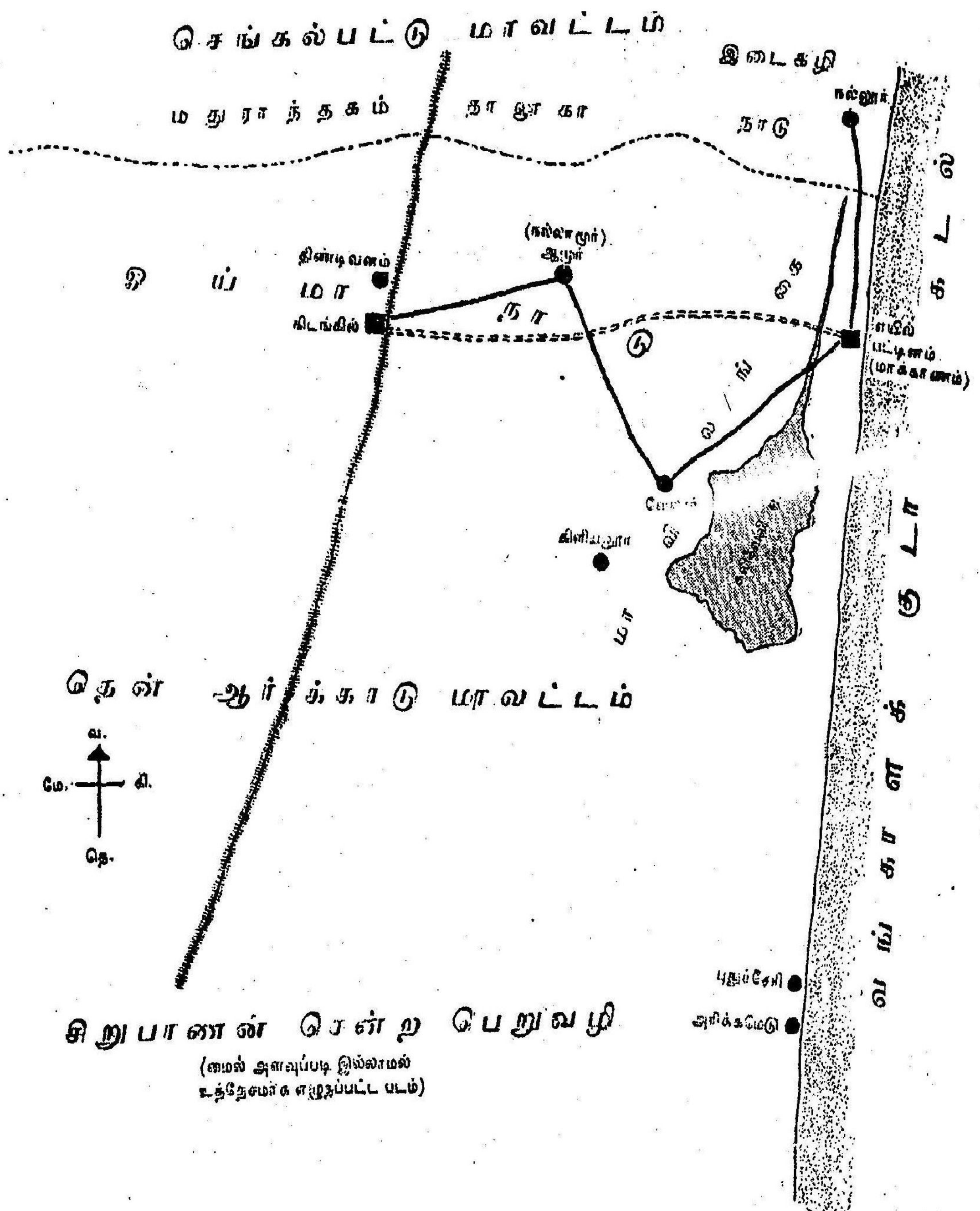
இந்த ஆமூர் எது என்பது தெரியவில்லை. நல்லாமூர் என்று பெயருள்ள ஊர் ஒன்று இருக்கிறது. இந்த நல்லாமூர் சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை கூறுகிற ஆமூராக இருக்கக்கூடும். பழைய ஆமூரும் இப்போதைய நல்லாமூரும் ஒரே ஊராக இருக்கக்கூடும். ஏனென்றால் இந்த நல்லாமூர் கிடங்கிலுக்கு அருகில் இருக்கிறது.

ஆமூரிலிருந்து புறப்பட்டு மேற்கே நெடுவழியே சென்றால், கடைசியில் நல்லியக்கோடனுடைய கிடங்கில் என்னும் ஊரை யடையலாம் என்று சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை கூறுகிறது.

எனவே, கிடங்கிலுக்குச் சிறுபாணன் சென்ற பெருவழி, அல்லது நத்தத்தனார் சென்ற பெருவழி இது: இடைகழிநாட்டு நல்லூரிலிருந்து புறப்பட்டு, இப்போதைய மரக்காணமாகிய எயிற்பட்டினத்துக்குப் போய் அங்கிருந்து வேலூருக்குச் சென்று, அங்கிருந்து புறப்பட்டு ஆமூரை அடைந்து, ஆமூரிலிருந்து கிடங்கிலை யடைந்தார் என்பது தெரிகிறது. (படம் காண்க)

கிரேக்க ஆசிரியரின் குறிப்புகள்: யவனராகிய கிரேக்கர் கி. மு. முதல் நூற்றாண்டிலிருந்து கி. பி. 2-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு வரையில் தமிழகத்துடன் வாணிபம் செய்தனர். கிரேக்க நூலாசிரியர்கள், தமிழ் நாட்டிலிருந்த அக்காலத்துத் துறைமுகப் பட்டினங்களைப் பற்றியும் எழுதி இருக்கிறார்கள். அவற்றுள் சோபட்டினமாகிய எயிற்பட்டினமும் குறிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

பெரிப்ளஸ் என்னும் நூலாசிரியர், தமிழகத்தின் கிழக்குக் கடற்கரையில் கமரா, பொடுகா, சோபட்மா (Camara, Poduca, Sopatma) என்னும் துறைமுகப் பட்டினங்களைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்.



சிறுபாணன் சென்ற பெருவழி
(மைல் அளவுப்படி இல்லாமல்
உத்தேசமாக எழுதப்பட்ட படம்)

டாலமி என்னும் கிரேக்க நூலாசிரியரும் **காமரா, போடுகே, மேலங்கே** (Kamara, Poduke, Melenge) என்னும் துறைமுகப் பட்டினங்களைக் கூறுகிறார்.

பெரிப்ளசும், டாலமியும் கூறுகிற கமரா என்னும் பட்டினம் சோழநாட்டில் பேர்பெற்றிருந்த காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம் (பூம்புகார்ப் பட்டினம்) ஆகும்.

பொடுகா என்றும் பொடுகே என்றும் அவர்கள் குறிப்பிடுகிற துறைமுகத்தைச் சிலர், இப்போதுள்ள புதுச்சேரி என்று கருதுகிறார்கள். இது தவறு எனத் தோன்றுகிறது. புதுச்சேரி பழைய துறைமுகப்பட்டினம் அல்ல. கி. பி. 17-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் பிரெஞ்சுக்காரரால் புதுச்சேரி துறைமுகப்பட்டின மாக்கப்பட்டது. எனவே, புதுச்சேரி பழைய துறைமுகம் அல்ல. பொடுகா அல்லது பொடுகே என்று கிரேக்க நூலாசிரியர் குறிப்பிட்ட இடம், புதுச்சேரிக்கு அருகிலே, தெற்குப்பக்கத்தில் கடற்கரை ஓரமாக உள்ள அரிக்கமேடு என்னும் இடமாக இருக்க வேண்டும். அரிக்கமேட்டை அண்மைக்காலத்தில் அகழ்ந்து பார்த்தபோது, அது கி. பி. முதல் நூற்றாண்டில் இருந்த துறைமுகப்பட்டினம் என்பது தெரிந்தது. அங்கிருந்து கண்டெடுக்கப்பட்ட பொருள்கள், அங்கு யவன வாணிகர் தங்கியிருந்ததையும் அது துறைமுகப்பட்டினமாக இருந்தது என்பதையும் தெளிவாகக் காட்டுகின்றன. இது பற்றி 'பண்டைய இந்தியா' என்னும் ஆங்கில வெளியீட்டில் விபரமாக அறியலாம். (Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India. By R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishna Deva. Pp. 17-124. "Ancient India". No. 2. 1946)

இதற்கு வடக்கே இருந்தது சோபட்மா என்னும் துறைமுகப் பட்டினம் என்று பெரிப்ளஸ் நூலாசிரியர் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். சோபட்மா என்பது சோபட்ன என்பதன் திரிபு. சோபட்ன என்பது சோபட்டினம் ஆகும். அதாவது எயிற்பட்டினம். சோ என்றாலும் எயில் என்றாலும் மதில் என்பது பொருள். மதில் சூழ்ந்த கோட்டைக்குள் அமைந்திருந்தபடியால் எயில் பட்டினம் என்றும் சோபட்டினம் என்றும் பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது.

எயிற் பட்டினமாகிய சோபட்டினத்தை டாலமி என்பவர் மேலங்கே என்று கூறுகிறார். மேலங்கே என்பது சிறுபாணாற்றுப் படை கூறுகிற மாவிலங்கை ஆகும். ஓய்மா நாட்டின் கடற்கரைப் பகுதிக்குப் பட்டின நாடு என்பது பெயர். பட்டின நாட்டில் நீரும்

திடலும் அதிகமாகக் காணப்பட்ட படியால் அப்பகுதி மாவிலங்கை என்று பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது என்று மேலே கூறினேம். டாலமி ஆசிரியர் மேலங்கே என்று கூறுகின்ற மாவிலங்கை, மாவிலங்கையில் இருந்த எயில் (சோ) பட்டினந்தான் என்பதில் சிறிதும் ஐயமில்லை.

கி. பி. 7–ஆம் நூற்றுண்டில் தமிழ் நாட்டுக்கு வந்த யுவாங் சுவாங் என்னும் சீன நாட்டு யாத்திரிகர், பல்லவ அரசர்களின் துறைமுகப் பட்டினமாகிய மாமல்லபுரத்தைக் கூறும்போது, அது காஞ்சிபுரத்தைச் சேர்ந்திருந்தபடியால், காஞ்சிபுரத் துறைமுகம் என்று கூறியிருப்பது இங்கு கருதத்தக்கது. அதுபோலவே மாவிலங்கையிலிருந்த எயிற்பட்டினம் என்னும் துறைமுகத்தை டாலமி, மேலங்கே என்று குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.

பெரிப்ளஸ் கூறுகிற சோபட்மா என்பதும், டாலமி கூறுகிற மேலங்கே என்பதும் ஐயமில்லாமல் சோபட்டினமாகிய எயில் பட்டினம் என்பது தெளிவாகிறது. எயில் பட்டினம் இப்போது மரக்காணம் என்று பெயர் பெற்றிருக்கிறது என்பதை மேலே கூறியுள்ளேன்.

குறிப்பு : கிடங்கில் என்னும் ஊரிலிருந்து மரக்காணத்திற்கு (எயில் பட்டினத்துக்கு)ச் செல்லும் நேர்வழி ஒன்று இப்போது இருக்கிறது. இப்பெரு வழியைப் புள்ளிக் கோட்டினுல் படத்தில் காட்டியுள்ளேன். இந்தப் பெருவழி சிறுபாணுற்றுப்படை காலத்தில் இருந்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இது பிற்காலத்தில் அமைந்த வழியாக இருக்கலாம். பழைய சாலைகள் மறைந்து போவதும் புதிய சாலைகள் புதிதாகத் தோன்றுவதும் இயற்கையே. உதாரணமாக மாமல்லபுரத்திலிருந்து நேரே காஞ்சிபுரத்திற்குச் சென்ற பழைய பல்லவர் காலத்துப் பெருவழி, இக்காலத்தில் முழுவதும் மறைந்து போய், புதிய சாலைகள் தோன்றியிருப்பதைக் காண்கிருேம்.

சிறுபாணற்றுப்படையில் கூறப்படுகிற ஊர்களைக் கொண்டும் நாட்டுப் படத்தில் காண்ப்படுகிற அவ்வூர்களின் அமைப்பைக் கொண்டும், இந்தப்படமும் கட்டுரையும் எழுதப்பட்டன. இதனை ஆராய்ந்து பார்த்து இது சரியா தவரு என்பதை முடிவு செய்வது வாசகர் கடமையாகும்.

Vada Venkatam

RAO SAHIB K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI

WHAT IS THIS VADA VENKATAM AND WHERE IS IT?

The preface (பாயிரம்) to Tholkappiam mentions Vada Venkatam as the northern boundary of the Tamil speaking area of the ancient Tamil country. This is what it says:

" வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி
ஆயிடைத்
தமிழ் கூறும் நல்லுலகத்து..."

பாயிரம். 1—3.

and this means "Venkatam in the North and Kumari in the South, in between them (ஆயிடை) in the good country where Tamil is spoken". It is significant that only two boundaries of the Tamil speaking area, the northern and southern, have been specified and the eastern and western have been omitted. It is generally interpreted that as the traditional boundaries of the Tamil land on the east and west were the seas and as these were well known to the people, there was no need to mention them. If the Tamil speaking area was anything short of the seas on the east or the west, there would have been the necessity to specify the boundary. The following quotation from Sikandi given by Adiyarku Nallar in his commentary on Silappadikaram supports this view and confirms that the eastern and western boundaries were the seas.

" வேங்கடம் குமரி தீம்புனல் பெளவமென்
றிந்நான் கெல்லை தமிழது வழக்கே."

This great commentator further adds an explanation of his own regarding the description of these boundaries.

He states :—

> " வடுகு வரம்பாக, வடதிசைக்கண் திரிபுடை
> மொழி பலவுளவாகலான் மலை எல்லை கூறி,
> ஒழிந்த திசை மூன்றிற்கும் திரிபின்மையாற்
> கடலெல்லை கூறினார் எனினும் அமையும்."

According to him that in the north beginning with Vaduku, as there are many languages which have changed, there was the necessity to define the northern boundary as the mountain boundary and as there was no change in the other three directions (up to the seas), the seas have been mentioned as the boundaries.[1]

In addition to Sikandi we get confirmation of the sea boundaries in the east and west from another ancient author Kakkai-padiniyar (காக்கைபாடினியார்) who alludes to them in the following stanza :

> " வடக்கும் தெற்கும் குடக்கும் குணக்கும்
> வேங்கடம் குமரி தீம்புனல் பௌவமென்(று)
> அந்நான் கெல்லை அகவயிற் கிடந்த
> நூலதின் முறையே வாலிதின் விரிப்பின் "

From what has been stated above it follows that the northern boundary of the Tamil speaking area extended right across the Peninsula east to west from one sea to another. If at all Northern Venkatam or Vada Venkatam indicated this boundary, it should naturally denote a long continuous northern boundary from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Modern Identification of Vada Venkatam

This Vada Venkatam has been identified and recognised by the public as well as the scholars as the Modern

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[1] This commentator has held Kumari also as a sea in the South. There are others who hold it as a mountain or a river or a country. As we are not concerned here about the southern boundary it is needless to go into this at this stage. The modern discovery of Dravidian substrata in Bengali, Marathi and other languages of the north may confirm the view of this commentator that in the north there are many languages which have changed.

Tirupathi or Tirumalai Hills. Besides the preface to Tholkappiam, there are numerous references to this Venkatam in Sangam literature. From the descriptions given in the Sangam literature it is difficult to identify the Tirupathi Hills as the Vada Venkatam of Tholkappiam. This article explains the difficulties in identifying Tirupathi as Vada Venkatam and seeks to lead the way to its correct identification.

Let us first understand the location of Modern Tirupathi and its physical features, so that we may be able to compare them with the description given in Sangam literature. Tirupathi or Tirumalai as it is also called, consists of a small irregular group of a few low hills at the north eastern corner of the Tamil speaking area approaching almost the 14th degree north latitude and 80th degree east longitude about 84 miles north-east of Madras. This is traditionally called a group of seven hills or ஏழு மலை. These hills do not run in a line or form a chain one after the other but run into each other and merge together to form a cluster or a confused coil as Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar calls it.[2]

The height of these hills ranges from 1,000 to 2,500 feet above the sea level. There is vegetation or undergrowth with patches of small trees or jungles here and there on these hills but no big forest or tall trees exist. Nor is there any trace of any such existence in the past. The climate is almost the same as the surrounding plains with a slight variation due to increase in the height with a moderate rainfall. Till about a decade or two back in some of the months these hills were considered malarial but thanks to the efforts of the authorities of the Devastanam the malarial conditions have since been wiped out.

Venkatam in Sangam Literature

The description given in Sangam literature of Vada Venkatam will be found to be far different. In Akananuru,

2 A History of Tirupathi, p. 1, Vol. I. By Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar.

85, Kannanar describes this as 'வேங்கட நெடுவரை,' the long mountain range of Venkatam. Nakkirar describes it in Akananuru, 141, as 'நெடுவரைப் பிறங்கிய வேங்கட வைப்பு', the region of Venkatam shining with long mountain ranges. Again Mamulanar describes this Venkatam in Akam, 393, as "கோடுயர் பிறங்கற் குன்றுபல நீந்தி..... தேன்தூங்கு உயர்வரை நன்னாட்டு உம்பர் வேங்கடம்". One has to swim through the region of many high hills and mountain ranges of Venkatam which lies beyond the good country. Kalladar describes it in Akananuru, 209, as "காம்புடை நெடுவரை வேங் கடம்", Venkatam the long mountain range or ranges over grown with bamboos. These descriptions indicate long mountain ranges far different from the short coil of Hillocks described as Tirupathi above.

Unlike the description in later literature, the descriptions of nature in the Sangam classics are almost true to nature. Exaggerated or hyperbolic descriptions are not to be found at all and the poetic touches if any are easily distinguishable. The descriptions of Venkatam in the passages quoted above are devoid of even the normal poetic touches — except perhaps the term of swimming applied to the crossing of the hills — and are descriptions pure and simple. வரை literally means a line or ridge and when applied to the mountains indicates a continuous mountain range running almost in a line forming as it were a ridge. Though the general name மலை (mountain) may also apply to this yet its description as வரை, நெடுவரை, and நெடுவரைப் பிறங்கிய வேங்கடவைப்பு shows, what was intended to be conveyed by these expressions was not the generic mountain but a particular species of long mountain ranges. நெடுவரை is far different from குன்று or குன்றம் hill or coil of hillocks. Later literature almost confounded these terms and made them synonymous to each other. The 'confused coil' or the irregular group of hills called Tirupathi can normally be described as hillocks (குன்றம் or குன்று) or at their best be called by the general name

mountain. It does not stand to reason that they were named as a long mountain range நெடுவரை.

These description apart, the difficulty of identifying Tirupathi as Vada Venkatam becomes all the more apparent when one realises whether a tiny spot in the north eastern corner of the country could have been described as the long northern boundary of a country extending from one sea to another right across the Peninsula. The famous scholar Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar felt the inadequacy of this small cluster of hills called Tirupathi to represent the long northern boundary. But he gave a plausible reason and this is what he said: "Tholkappiam, the classical grammar of the Tamils, popularly believed to be one of the oldest pieces of Tamil literature extant, defines the boundary of Tamil Provenance, as between the hill Venkatam and the Southern Comorin (Kumari) as marking the northern and southern boundaries. In those days the sea marked the extent and the prevalence of Tamil on the other two sides. Therefore Northern Venkatam (Vada Venkatam) is the style in which it is most referred to. To make the position clear, it is possible to quote references in which it is stated quite unmistakably that when one passed Venkatam from the south, he passed the bounds of Tamil on the one side and gets into a region where the language actually is different. That is usually referred to as 'Venkatam passing which the language changes'. Number of instances could be quoted for that from Tamil classical literature. So we might take it that Venkatam for Tirupathi is the name of the hill so familiarly known to the Tamils, more or less as a landmark which characterised the northern border of the Tamil land, passing across which one got into a region where Tamil language was not spoken."[3] At another place he makes a definite statement about this and adds "A prominent landmark in this northern boundary was undoubtedly Venkatam."[4]

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[3] A History of Tirupathi, pp. 4 & 5 Vol. I.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Tirupathi of Mediaeval Fame

When did this Tirupathi become prominent to be known as a prominent land mark in the northern boundary ? It is well known that Tirupathi became important only on account of its religious importance and became a great pilgrim centre during the mediaeval times. It became well known to the Tamilians only on account of its religious importance and this religious significance did not exist during the Sangam period but grew later. The earliest mention of it is in Silappadikaram.

According to Silappadikaram a pilgrim from Mangadu in Malai Nadu (Malabar) who was on a tour of pilgrimage met Kovalan at Uraiyur the Chola capital. Kovalan was then on his way to Madurai. Kovalan was in doubt as to which of the routes to Madurai was safe to undertake. This pilgrim enlightens him about the route to take. In answer to a question from Kovalan he explains his pilgrimage and in this connection he describes in great detail Venkatam a place he has not yet visited and the deity therein which he has not seen or worshipped.[5]

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5 நீலமேக நெடும்பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை யருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளிப் பலர்தொழு தேத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்
வீங்குநீ ரருவி வேங்கட மென்னும்
ஓங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறுந் திங்களும் விளங்கி
இருமருங் கோங்கிய விடைநிலைத் தானத்து
மின்னுக் கொடியுடுத்து விளங்குவிற் பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமும்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி
நலங்கிள ரார மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம்பூ வாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் ணெடியோ னின்ற வண்ணமும்
என்கண் காட்டென் றென்னுளம் கவற்ற
வந்தேன் குடமலை மாங்காட் டுள்ளேன்.

Lines 35-40 relate to Tiruvarangam.
Lines 41-51 relate to Venkatam.

INTERPOLATION IN SILAPPADIKARAM

His description of Tiruvarangam almost near which he stayed is very short but the description about Tiruvenkatam which he has not seen is very elaborate. Kovalan who lived at Pukar nearer to Venkatam should have known more about Venkatam than this pilgrim from the west coast, if really Venkatam (Tirupathi) had grown into importance to be considered as a land mark in the northern boundary. This almost looks like carrying coal to Newcastle. This description of Venkatam is in no way connected with the theme of the epic; nor is it closely connected with any of the incidents narrated. This piece of information hangs loose in Book XI and gives room to suspect it rather as an interpolation. It appears as if it was inserted to ennoble Venkatam and the deity therein with a specific purpose. A great master poet like Elango would never have added an unnecessary and unconnected piece of information merely to show off his religious neutrality, if at all he wanted to exhibit it, and such neutrality stands proved by the previous part of the self same narrative.[6]

Till about the 11th century A.D. this shrine at Tirupathi was considered common both to Saivas and Vaishnavas. The early Alwars Poigai and Pey sing about the deity as having the attributes, symbols and also weapons of both Siva and Vishnu. (Poigai Alwar 5, 28, 74, 98. Pey Alwar 61, 62, 63). Kapila Deva, one of the Saiva saints, sings in the same strain.[7] But this pilgrim would have it as a complete Vaishnava shrine even at the time of Silappadikaram.

To view this reference to Venkatam in its correct perspective, it is necessary to know a few details about the dispute relating to the temple at Venkatam in the 11th century A.D. The history of the religious movements in

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6 Lines 35–46 foot-note on previous page.

7 *திருவந்தாதி, 15.*

South India will show that during the 11th century A.D. religious bigotry and sectarian fanaticism were rampant. The rivalry between Saivas and Vaishnavas which developed during the preceding centuries almost reached its zenith during this century. These two important sections of the Hindu fold were almost at war, one claiming superiority over the other regarding the religious concepts, the philosophic basis and the religious practices. Shrines in which, during the previous tolerant ages, images of both Siva and Vishnu were enshrined and the shrines in which the images had symbols and attributes of both Siva and Vishnu in common, were now claimed exclusively by one of the groups, uprooting, altering or defacing the images and creating all sorts of evidence in support of its claims. This dispute extended to Tirupathi (Venkatam) as well, in all its rigour. Sri Ramanuja who had then risen into religious fame was invited to examine or arbitrate and settle the rival claims. The evidence produced by the parties was inconclusive. It was therefore agreed that weapons peculiar to Siva and those peculiar to Vishnu should be left before the image at night and the deity allowed to select from among them, those peculiar to its intrinsic nature and thus demonstrate to the public whether the image is to be regarded as that of Siva or of Vishnu. Doors were closed and secured with locks. Prayers went on outside, for divine intervention and rightful choice. Early in the morning when the doors were opened it was found that a miracle had happened, the image had selected and held in its hands the disc (chakra) and the conch (Sangam) the weapons appropriate to Vishnu. Since that day the shrine has been treated by the public as a shrine of Vishnu.[8]

The disc and the conch are not carved as part and parcel of the image in the same slab but are removable and replaceable ones. As already stated the early Vaishnava saints, the Alwars Poigai and Pey had described in

[8] Guru Parampara and Itihasamala of Tirupathi.

their psalms that the image had weapons, symbols and attributes of both Siva and Vishnu. Poigai Alwar had described it as having a spear (that of Siva) and disc (that of Vishnu) "கையது வேல் நேமி". (இயற்பா, முதல் திருவந் தாதி, 5). Pey Alwar gives a more elaborate description and states that there appear on the image the matted hair (jada of Siva), the long crown (நீள்முடி of Vishnu), the battle-axe (மழு of Siva), the disc (chakra of Vishnu), encircling serpents (of Siva), the golden threads (of Vishnu) and that the two forms of Siva and Vishnu combine into one for the God, the father, on the Tirumalai (Venkatam) Hills.

"தாழ்சடையும் நீள்முடியும் ஒண்மழுவும் சக்கரமும்
சூழ்அரவும் பொன்னாணும் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமேல் எந்தைக்கு
இரண்டுருவும் ஒன்றாய் இசைந்து."

இயற்பா, மூன்றாந் திருவந்தாதி, 63

Modern archaeologists also find that the description given by these early Alwars is true and the idol of the Lord on Venkatam (Venkateswara) combines in itself the sculptural details indicating the attributes and symbols of both Siva and Vishnu. A recent notification by the department of information and public relations of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, also confirms this aspect. The notification reveals that "according to the principles of Hindu Iconography the idol of Sri Venkateswara has the attributes of both Vishnu and Siva — the preserving and destroying aspect of the Hindu Trinity — found in one and the same idol. This quality appeals at once to Vaishnavites and Saivites."[9]

The two Alwars referred to, Poigai and Pey, belonged to Vehha (வெஃகா) in Kanchi and Mylapore in Madras respectively within about 84 miles from Tirupathi. A perusal of their psalms will show that they had intimate

[9] *The Hindu*, Tuesday May 17, 1960, page 6. The portion which deals with this is a new addition to the article.

personal knowledge of the shrine and the idol therein. In the face of the direct testimony of these Alwars who had seen the idol, prayed and sung at the shrine, and the testimony of Archaeology, the description by a pilgrim from the far off west coast, who has not visited the shrine and seen the image at all, has to be treated as spurious. When this spurious description is found in a passage not relevent to the context in the epic of *Silappadikaram* it stands self-condemned as a deliberate interpolation.

It may also be seen, that if this description of Venkatam is deleted from the text, the continuity of the narrative is not broken. Line 40 of the narrative verse (footnote on page 70 *Ibid*) reads " திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்." If the உம், the conjunctive participle, is omitted this line fits, in sense and in form, into line 52 which continues the narrative straight on, without a break, leaving off altogether the intervening description of Venkatam and the image of the Lord enshrined therein contained in the lines 41 to 51, as shown below:

40. திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணம்
52. என்கண் காட்டென் றென்னுளம் கவற்ற,
53. வந்தேன் குடமலை மாங்காட் டுள்ளேன்.

It is thus proved beyond doubt that this description of Venkatam in *Silappadikaram* is a deliberate interpolation and in the circumstances stated above was evidently made to prop up the claim to the shrine by the testimony of a neutral author and skilfully interwoven into the text of the ancient epic.

Even taking this as a genuine passage, it does not take us to the period of Sangam but Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar takes this shrine far into the Sangam period and to this end, he interprets a solitary line occurring in Akananuru 61. " விழவுடை விழுச்சீர் வேங்கடம் " as referring to the religious festivals in Venkatam. He considers this as an unmistakable reference to the celebration of festivals

there throughout the year. He urges that this may justify our presuming the existence of the temple there and the series of festivals which had early been inaugurated in connection with it. He however admits that this falls short of the actual mention of the temple as such.[10]

This inference is far fetched. Any one can see from Sangam literature that almost every village in the Tamil country had its festivals, annual and seasonal, festivals of various kinds social, religious, vocational and even political, all the year round. There were marriage festivals (' வதுவை விழவிற் புதுவோர்க்கெல்லாம்,' புறம்., 372); festivals of sea bathing (' முந்நீர் விழவின் நெடியோன் ', புறம். 9); festivals of first floods (புனல்விழவு, பரிபாடல் 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 20, 22) and political or war festivals (' போர் எதிர்ந்து என் ஐ போர்க் களம் புகினே கல்லென் பேரூர் விழவுடையாங்கண்,' புறம். 84); Ladies inaugurated some of these festivals (' விழவு முத லாட்டி,' குறுந்தொகை, 10.) and these were occasions for the unmarried to show themselves to their best advantage (' தழையணி அல்குல் மகளிருள்ளும் விழவு மேம்பட்ட என்நலன்,') குறுந்தொகை, 125.

' உடுத்தும் தொடுத்தும் பூண்டும் செரீஇயும்,
தழையணிப் பொலிந்த ஆயமொடு துவன்றி
விழவொடு வருதி......
இனிய விழவாயிற் றென்னுமிவ் வூரே.'

குறுந்தொகை, 295.

Many a village had such festivals and some of them had their never ending festivals.

' வேறுவே றுயர்ந்த முதுவாய் ஒக்கல்
சாறயர் மூதூர் சென்றுதொக் காங்கு,

பட்டினப்பாலை, 215

' நீறடங்கு தெருவின் சாறயர் மூதூர் ' சிறுபாண். 201

' அழியா விழவின் அஞ்சுவரு மூதூர் ' அகம். 715

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10 A History of Tirupathi, p. 14.

Even tiny hamlets had their share of these festivals ('விழவு அகலுளாங்கட் சீறூர்.' புறம். 65.). Every house had its festivals ('மாடந் தோறும் மைவிடை வீழ்ப்ப நீயாங்குக் கொண்ட விழவினும் பலவே.' புறம். 33) The festivals went on throughout the year and there was no end to them in the entire country ('மடியா விழவின் யாணர் நன்னாட்டு' புறம். 212.) The country referred to here is the Chola country and not Venkatam.

Thus the festivals were nothing peculiar to Venkatam nor is there anything in the poem cited by the learned doctor to show that they were religious festivals. Festivals were the common features of every village and were celebrated almost throughout the year. There is thus no reliable evidence to hold that Tirupathi was religiously or otherwise prominent during the Sangam period.

There are no doubt many references to Tirupathi as Venkatam showing intimate and personal knowledge of the shrine and the hills in the hymns of the first Alwars who are generally ascribed to the 3rd century A.D. These Alwars belong to the country adjoining Tirupathi. Nammalwar, Perialwar, Andal, Kulasekaralwar and Tirumangai Mannan refer to Venkatam (Tirupathi) and of these the last three have each contributed a large number of songs which refer to Tirupathi as Venkatam. Their descriptions are considered merely conventional descriptions without a personal knowledge of the locality or the shrine.[11] The other Alwars do not even refer to Tirupathi or Venkatam at all. It is therefore clear Tirupathi was thus important to the religious few and developed a mass appeal to be known throughout the country only later.

It was only after Sri Ramanuja was called on to settle the dispute between the Saivas and Vaishnavas, regarding their claims to the shrine at Tirupathi and the miracles which the deity was pleased to perform in connection

11 A History of Tirupathi, Chapter VI & VII.

thereto,[12] this shrine caught the popular imagination and became important to be known throughout the country. It is well known that miracles catch the imagination of the masses and spread the fame of the shrine far and wide. Ramanuja belonged to 11th century A.D. An importance which grew up so late as the 11th century A.D. cannot constitute a reason for considering the tiny spot as a land mark in the Sangam period or that it was so prominent at the time of Tholkappiam that the whole northern boundary from one sea to another came to be designated by the name of this tiny spot as Venkatam. One has therefore to search for the identification of Venkatam in other directions.

The Etymological Meaning of Venkatam

Venkatam is a compound word composed of two words வேம் and கடம் (வேம்+கடம்=வேங்கடம்) Katam means parched up dry wastes. *Kurunthogai* (குறுந்தொகை, 174) describes it as an arid waste in the following terms:

> " பெயன்மழை துறந்த புலம்புறு கடத்துக்
> கவைமுட் கள்ளிக் காய்விடு கடுநொடி
> துதைமென் தூவித் துணைப்புற விரிக்கும்
> அத்தம்......"

Silappadikaram mentions many a katam as lying on the way to Madurai "கடம்பல கிடந்த காடுடன் கழிந்து" (Book XI-90). The commentator explains Katam as அருஞ்சுரம், arid wastes. Pingalanthai (பிங்கலந்தை) defines Katam as மலைச்சாரல் a mountain slope. Nartinai (நற்றிணை 48) describes it as shrubby jungle "புறவணி கொண்ட பூநாறு கடத்திடை'.

Katam thus literally means an arid waste or a mountain slope with or without shrubs or jungles. வேம் means burning. வேங்கடம் thus means burning waterless wastes or mountain slopes which answers to the description of

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

Palai (பாலை) in Tamil literature. In *Kalithogai* (கலித்தொகை 9), கடம் is used to denote a part of அருஞ்சுரம் which means Palai.

5 " வெவ்விடைச் செலன்மாலை ஒழுக்கத்தீர் இவ்விடை
8 அன்னோர் இருவரைக் காணிரோ பெரும!
காணேம் அல்லேம் கண்டனம் கடத்திடை
10 ஆண்எழில் அண்ணலொ டருஞ்சுரம் முன்னிய"

Let us now understand, what actually the northern region, just above the Tamil speaking area is, and know what its physical or geographical features are. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar describes them correctly as follow :

PHYSICAL FEATURES

"The Eastern Ghats which, from the northern extremity of the presidency run close to the coast, turn into the interior after passing the river Krishna and then break up into a number of parallel ranges of hills of which in the region south of the Krishna and extending southwards to the latitude of Madras, say roughly 13th degree of north latitude three parallel ranges are distinguishable. The range nearest the coast runs more or less straight in one single range. The second range is an irregular group starting similarly from the Krishna well below Kurnool and runs down in a semicircle into the Cuddapah District scattering about in a cluster, one group of which is called Seshachalam hills ; the main range however runs southwards till it makes a further approach to the coast, coming down as far as Ponneri a few miles north of Madras. Another range more irregular and much lower in point of height, proceeds northwards from the foot of the Mysore Plateau and scatters itself through Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. The central group is what is called Nallamalais in the Kurnool district, and as it proceeds southwards from there, it becomes more definitely something

like a single range and meets the eastern range round about the group of hills at Tirupathi, Kalahasthi, etc. These hills therefore form a feature of the frontier half a degree to the north of Madras extending the whole length from the Mysore plateau and stretching eastwards of almost near the coast at Ponneri and thus constitute a prominent feature of the northern extremity of the Tamil Land."[13]

In the remote past probably the sea on the east was almost near the hills on the east as it is now at Visakapattinam. Either the narrow coastal strip which we now find between the rocks and the sea in the east is an accretion from the sea after *Tholkappiam* during the past two thousand five hundred or three thousand years which have elapsed or hills further east of the existing sea-shore were swallowed by the sea. That the seas washed the rocks on the east and the west coast is confirmed by Sirukakkai Padiniyar. (சிறு காக்கை பாடினியார்.) In poetic terms she describes the fight between the sea and the hills in the following lines :

" வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகுவரம் பாகத்
தென்திசை யுள்ளிட் டெஞ்சிய மூன்றும்
வரைமருள் புணரியொடு பொருது கிடந்த
நாட்டியல் வழக்க நான்மையின் கடைக்கண்
யாப்பின திலக்கணம் அறைகுவன் முறையே."

The region between the river Krishna in the north and a little south of Tungabadra and North Pennar, studded with hills and mountain ranges, is still the hottest part in South India. The heat of the summer sun augmented by the radiation of heat from the surrounding rocks reaches normally 120 to 125 degrees. Deaths from sunstroke are not wanting in this region. The people generally keep to their houses during summer. As the moisture in the human body is sucked up by the hot air, one actually

[13] A History of Tirupathi, pp. 1-2.

feels parched up and experiences a burning sensation on mid-summer noons. Thus this region actually forms the burning mountain sides and dry wastes answering to the description of வேங்கடம் in Sangam classics. It is this region which is still backward except for a few towns which have risen up in the recent years due to the opening up of a few railway lines and roads. Till recently it was this region which was subject to famine and pestilence almost every year. Though there are streams and rivulets which carry occasional freshes they run so low below the surface level that they are not generally useful for irrigation purposes. Modern irrigation projects are, however, rapidly changing the nature of an appreciable area of this region into a fertile tract.

VENKATAM AND ITS RULERS

Akananuru and *Purananuru* refer to 'Pulli' as the ruler of Venkatam. Some of the references in these works are quoted below:

1. " கல்லா இளைஞர் பெருமகன் புல்லி
வியன்றலை நன்னாட்டு வேங்கடம் " அகம். 83

2. " ....மறப்போர்ப் புல்லி
காம்புடை நெடுவரை வேங்கடம்......" அகம். 209

3. " ....கள்வர் கோமான்
மழபுலம் வணக்கிய மாவண் புல்லி
விழவுடை விழுச்சீர் வேங்கடம்......" அகம். 61

4. " ....புல்லிய
வேங்கட விறல்வரை......" புறம். 385

Some of the poems refer to Thirayan (திரையன்) the lord of Thondayar (தொண்டையர்) as the ruler of Venkatam.

1. " வென்வேல் திரையன் வேங்கட நெடுவரை "
அகம். 85

2. " தொண்டையர் அடுக்கம் " குறுந்தொகை, 260

3. " வினைநவில் யானை விறற்போர்த் தொண்டையர்
ஓங்குவெள் ளருவி வேங்கடத் தும்பர் " அகம். 213

Purananuru mentions another ruler Atha-nungan (ஆதனுங்கன்) as the lord of Venkatam.

" கல்லிழி அருவி வேங்கடங் கிழவோன்
செல்வுழி எழாஅ நல்லேர் முதியன்!
ஆத னுங்கன் போலநீயும்......" புறம். 389

There are not sufficient materials to hold that these rulers ruled Venkatam one after the other. The general trend of the references seem to indicate that they ruled different parts of the long boundary called Vada Venkatam. It may be inferred from the inscriptions and poems noted below that one of them ruled the eastern part, another the western and the third either the central region or the northern part. It is significant that rulers with the name and title of Nungan as in the case of the one last mentioned (Athanungan), ruled the region near about the river Krishna till the 14th and 15th century A.D. An inscription of the 14th century mentions the rulers Nunga Deva Maha Raya, and Nunga Raya. Another inscription of the 15th century mentions Veeran Nungan as the ruler at Kanaparthi in Ongole Taluk, Guntur District (Nel. Ins: 0.55. pp. 988-990 புறம். 389. commentary by Avvai Doraisami Pillai.)

It is seen from *Akananuru* 340 Thirayan's capital city was Pavathri in the east coast near Gudur.

" செல்லா நல்லிசைப் பொலம்பூண் திரையன்
பல்பூங் கானல் பவத்திரி........"

It is also known from Nellore inscriptions Gudur Nos. 88 and 105 that Pavathri was washed away by the sea and they refer to this as "கடல் கொண்ட பவத்திரி கோட்டம்" It is evidently after this submersion Thirayan moved his capital to Kanchi which is referred to as the capital of Ilan-Thirayan and which grew famous as the seat of an university for learning and culture as Nalanda and Taxila in the north.

It is very likely that Pulli ruled the western portion of Venkatam which lay over the Pandian Kingdom as the poems which refer to him refer to elephants mostly frequenting this region.

" செந்நுதல் யானை வேங்கடம் " அகம். 265

" ஓங்கல் யானை உயங்கிமதம் தேம்பிப்
பன்மர ஒருசிறைப் பிடியொடு வதியும்
புடையலங் கழற்கால் புல்லிக் குன்றத்து " அகம். 295

" ஞால்வாய்க் களிறு பாந்தட் பட்டெனத்
துஞ்சாத் துயரத் தஞ்சுபிடிப் பூசல்
நெடுவரை விடரகத் தியம்பும்
கடுமான் புல்லி காடிறந் தோரே." நற்றிணை, 14

The natural habitat of elephants is the western ghats. They roam about in the adjoining hills of the western region but rarely reach the east coast or the eastern region.

THE CLIMATIC AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THIS VENKATAM

The climatic conditions and the physical features of this region now lying north of the Tamil speaking area, which were described above, almost correspond with the description of the region called Venkatam in Sangam classics and a few of those descriptions are given below :

" நிலநீ ரற்று நீள்சுனை வறப்பக்
குன்றுகோ டகையக் கடுங்கதிர் தெறுதலின்
என்றூழ் நீடிய வேய்படு நனந்தலை
நிலவுநிற மருப்பிற் பெருங்கை சேர்த்தி
வேங்கை வென்ற வெருவரு பணைத்தோள்
ஓங்கல் யானை உயங்கிமதம் தேம்பிப்
பன்மர ஒருசிறைப் பிடியொடு வதியும்
கல்லுடை அதர கானம் நீந்திக்
கடனீ ருப்பின் கணஞ்சால் உமணர்
உயங்குபக டுயிர்ப்ப அசைஇ முரம்பிடித்து
அகலிடம் குழித்த அகல்வாய்க் கூவல்
ஆறுசெல் வம்பலர் அசைவிட ஊறும்
புடையலங் கழற்காற் புல்லி குன்றத்து
நடையருங் கானம் "........ அகம். 295

Lands are devoid of water. The long mountain pools become dry. The heat from the cruel rays of the sun radiate fire from the top of the hills. In the broad slopes the bamboos wither and die. Huge terrible elephants which once killed tigers with their mighty trunks now exhausted and enervated by the heat, wind up their trunks round their moon-white tusks and seek shelter with the she-elephants in the shade of the patches of trees. The caravan of traders in sea salt untie and allow the exhausted bulls which pulled their cart loads of salt to breathe and live. The wells with wide open mouths dug up in the hard soil yield a little water to relieve the fatigue of the forlorn travellers in the hilly country of Pulli the jungles of which no one frequents.

The climate and physical features described in this poem are almost true even today but elephants and tigers rarely roam about in this tract but boars and jackals have taken their places. The caravan of traders in salt have ceased to ply their trade but the country carts could still be seen performing acrobatic feats in the mountainous tracks of this region.

The region under Thondayar is in no way better. *Akananuru* 213 describes it as an arid waste with long winding tracks without water devoid of the beauty of the shade of trees but radiating fire.

" நிழற்கவின் இழந்த நீரில் நீளிடை
அழலவிர் அருஞ்சுரம் நெடிய வென்ருர் "

Poem 311 of this classic describes that water gets dried up and all the sides wither dried up with heat.

" பயந்தலை பெயர்த்து மாதிரம் வெம்ப "

Poem 281 of the same classic describes poetically that the snow clad peaks have been beheaded to allow the sun to roll on without hindrance.

" விண்ணுற ஓங்கிய பனியிருங் குன்றத்து
ஒண்கதிர்த் திகிரி உருளிய குறைத்த
அறைஇறந் தவரோ சென்றனர் "

Poems 359 and 265 describe the region as (அருஞ்சுரக் கவலை) dreadful arid tract with branching routes and (வெம்முனை யருஞ்சுரம்,) cruel and dreadful arid region. It may be noted that all the poems in *Akananuru, Nartinai* and *Kurunthogai* which describe this region Venkatam come under Palai (பாலை) emphasising one or the other of the aspects of Palai.

Fertile spots were not however wanting in this வேங்கடம். Kalladanar describes in 391 *Purananuru* a locality where there was immense rainfall and which produced heaps of paddy like mountains. Even this fertile spot became famine striken and this lay in the northern part of Venkatam.

" தண்துளி பலபொழிந்து எழிலி இசைக்கும்
விண்டு வனைய விண்தோய் பிறங்கல்
முகடுற உயர்ந்த நெல்லின்........
....
வேங்கட வரைப்பின் வடபுலம் பசித்தென "

Probably this fertile area lay near the western ghats. One is here reminded of the fertile Hindupore and Lepakshi in the border of Mysore which receive good rainfall but are occasionally subject to famine.

Identification of Venkatam

From the descriptions given and the comparisons made it will be apparent that the mountainous country lying north of the then Tamil speaking area extending from the western to the eastern sea with long mountain ranges, hills and hillocks, with jungles and barren tracks with their unbearable burning climate was literally the

வேங்கடம் of the Sangam classics. As this formed the unbroken northern boundary from sea to sea it was called Vada Venkatam.

There are not sufficient materials to fix up the exact limits of this Venkatam. With the scanty materials available, it is, however, possible to know their approximate limits. It was already pointed out that rulers with the name and title of Nungan, referred to in *Purananuru* ruled the northern part of this territory near about the river Krishna, in Ongole Taluk. This forms a basis to consider that Venkatam extended to the north almost up to the river Krishna or half way between the river Krishna and the river North Pennar, south of Ongole.

That this Venkatam started from Tirupathi hills near the east coast is supported by the very name of the Hills வேங்கடம் Venkatam. Unless these hills formed a part or at least the fringe of the burning tracts வேங்கடம் described in Sangam literature, they would not have been named as Venkatam by the early Alwars who were great scholars in Tamil and whose poems almost rank with those of the Sangam.

Starting from the east on the northern boundary of the Chola country, where the Tirupathi hills are situate this வேங்கடம் extended west over the northern border of the Pandian Kingdom and reached the west coast. *Akananuru*, 27, mentions that the Pandian King secured elephants from the north where lay this Venkatam.

" .... வடவயின்
வேங்கடம் பயந்த வெண்கோட்டு யானை
மறப்போர்ப் பாண்டியர் அறத்திற் காக்கும் "

Poem 253 of the same classic mentions that a lover crossed the river Aiyiri in Mysore State and got into Palai (பாலை).

" பேரிசை எருமை நன்னாட்டு உள்ளதை
அயிரியா றிறந்தன ராயினும் "

Though this poem does not state, but leaves it to be inferred, that the country beyond the Aiyiri was Palai or வேங்கடம், poem 177 makes this clear. This describes that another lover crossed the Aiyiri and proceeded beyond the forests through the mountain slopes full of bamboos where gamboge (சுரபுன்னை) wither and the ever increasing stones on the pathway had learnt the wrath of the sun to spread out furious radiation.

" கழையமல் சிலம்பின் வழைதலை வாடக்
கதிர்கதம் கற்ற ஏகல் நெறியிடைப்
பைங்கொடிப் பாகற் செங்கனி நசைஇக்
கான மஞ்ஞைக் கமஞ்சூல் மாப்பெடை
அயிரியாற் றடைகரை வயிரின் நரலும் "

This Aiyiri has been identified as the Hagari a tributary of the Thungabadra.[14] This tributary rises on the eastern slopes of the western ghats and runs along the northern border of Pre-merger Mysore State. Thus Venkatam which began on the east coast extended upto the feet of the western ghats crossing which we meet the western sea.

ERUMAI NADU IDENTIFIED AS MYSORE

எருமை நன்னாடு mentioned in *Akananuru* 253 referred to above, has been proved to be none other than the Mysore State, by the inscriptions in Canarese found in Mysore (EP., Car, Vol. X Cu. 20) and the inscriptions in Tamil found also there (A.R. for 1907, Para 1.)[15]

எருமை literally means a buffalo in English and Mahisha (மகிஷம்) in Sanskrit. According to mytho-

[14] A History of Tirupathi, p. 11.

[15] Quoted by Avvai Doraiswami Pillai in his commentary on புறம். 273.

logy Mahisha was a giant called Mahishasura who did great havoc to the country. The Goddess Chamundeeswari whose temple is on the Chamundi hills near the Mysore palace killed this giant and freed the country. As the town was under Mahishasura this was known as *மகிஷாசுரன் ஊர்* or *மகிஷனூர்*. This was anglicised into Mysore and lent its name to the whole state. This name is, thus, a translation of the ancient name எருமை into Sanskrit, to which was added mythological and religious significance as was generally done in the mediaeval times.

எருமை நன்னாடு (அகம். 340) எருமையூர் (அகம். 36)[16] எருமை வெளி (அகம். 72, 73. புறம். 273, 303)[17] எருமை குடநாடு (அகம். 115)[18] are the terms by which Mysore is denoted in Sangam literature. Of these names எருமை குடநாடு is significant. According to Tholkappiam Senthamil (செந்தமிழ்) pure Tamil was spoken in 12 divisions of the ancient Tamil country '*செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலம்*'. The commentators name these divisions, of which one is குடநாடு Kudanadu. Kudanadu literally means the western country. Kerala and Mysore States are both to the west of the Tamil country and the term Kudanadu may indicate either the one or the other of these two or both. The term எருமை குடநாடு has, therefore, been used in அகம். 215, to differentiate it from சேரர் குடநாடு, the Kudanadu of the Cheras. Thus Mysore was included in one of the twelve divisions of the Tamil country at the time of Tholkappiam and pure Tamil was spoken there as well as in the Chera country, the other half of Kudanadu. That even during the Sangam period pure Tamil continued to be in use in the Mysore State, is indicated by the fact that the poems of this State have been incorporated into the Sangam classics. Poems 273 and 303 of *Purananuru* and 73 of *Akananuru* were composed by எருமை வெளியனார் and his son கடலனார் composed poem 72 of *Akananuru*.

16 '*நாரரி நறவின் எருமையூரன்*' *அகம். 17*
17 '*எருமை வெளியனார்*' *அகம். 73*
18 '*நுண்பூண் எருமை குடநாட் டன்ன என்.*' *அகம். 115.*

Pure Tamil (செந்தமிழ்) which was the language of the State at the time of Tholkappiam has gradually changed into Canarese in the course of the many centuries which followed.

These prove that at the time of Tholkappiam Mysore formed part of the *good country speaking Tamil,* ('தமிழ் கூறும் நல்லுகம்') as shown above and on its northern border also, lay Venkatam beyond the river Aiyiri (Hagari). It is thus seen that Vada Venkatam which formed the northern boundary of the entire Tamil speaking area, extended from the eastern to the western sea right across the Peninsula.

More about Tirupathi

Tirupathi lay in the south eastern corner of this time honoured Venkatam. When it gradually became habitable and grew religiously important it was evidently named after the region of which it formed a part. The etymological significance of the word Venkatam should have been lost and it should have naturally attained the status of a single word (as understood even now) acquiring the dignity and honour of hoary antiquity. The part bore the name of the whole with so much dignity and splendour that it hid from the view altogether the whole and its primitive humble origin. It was no longer the dreadful வேங்கடம் not even Vada Venkatam the northern boundary, but it became Tiruvenkatam, the beautiful Venkatam, the divine Venkatam of the Alwars and saints. This is the morphosis which has come over the word quite in keeping with the metamorphosis which has come over the tiny hills which the word now represented.

Alwar Bhutan, one of the three early Alwars, calls this Tirupathi as இளங்கிரி,[19] Ilangiri — the young mountain.

[19] *நெறியார் குழற்கற்றை முன்னின்று பின்தாழ்ந்து*
அறியா திளங்கிரிஎன் றெண்ணிப்—பிறியாது
பூங்கொடிகள் வைகும் பொருபுனற் குன்றென்னும்
வேங்கடமே யாம்விரும்பும் வெற்பு.

இயற்பா, இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி, 53

This bears testimony to the geological changes which have come over the hills during the centuries which intervened between the time of Tholkappiam and the time of this Alwar.

In this region of வேங்கடம் one can see even now rocks in various stages of distintegration. The terrible heat of the tropical sun and the seasonal monsoon rains have split some of the rocks in the region into big boulders, reduced some into a heap of sharp stones or polished pebbles and changed some into mounds of sand and mud paving the way for the growth of vegetation. Hills once bald have become green with verdure. Vegetation in all stages of its growth from tiny shrubs to jungles could be seen on these hills. Tirupathi has thus undergone these geological changes and became habitable at about the time of Alwar Bhutan and he has named it the young mountain 'Ilangiri'.

He calls even the temple on the hills as இளங்கோயில் 'Ilankoil', the young temple.[20] In later inscriptions this term Ilankoil has been used to indicate a shrine put up temporarily while the original one is renewed, repaired and rebuilt. That Alwar Bhutan did not use this word Ilankoil in this sense, is proved by one of the inscriptions of the early Pallavas of the 9th century A.D. found on the very walls of the temple at Tirupathi.[21] This inscription registers a grant of money for the perpetual burning of a lamp at Tiruvenkatam for the deity installed in the temple which the inscription names as Thiru Ilankoil (திரு இளங்கோயில்). There is only one temple on the hills and there is no evidence from any quarter that there was at any time any other temple tem-

20 வெற்பென் றிருஞ்சோலை வேங்கடமென் றிவ்விரண்டும்
நிற்பென்று நீமதிக்கும் நீர்மைபோல்—நிற்பென்
றுளங்கோயில் உள்ளம்வைத் துள்ளினேன் வெள்ளத்
திளங்கோயில் கைவிடேல் என்று.

இயற்பா, இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி, 54

21 A History of Tirupathi, p. 129.

porary or permanent. There can be no perpetual burning of the lamp unless the shrine for which the burning was intended was a perpetual or permanent one.

This inscription places beyond doubt that even in the 9th century the shrine was called young temple and the prominence which it acquired should have been subsequent to the 9th century. As already pointed out, only after the time of Sri Ramanuja (11th century A.D.) the fame of the shrine grew up. The interest Sri Ramanuja took in the shrine and his own fame enhanced the reputation of the temple.

Sri Ramanuja paid three visits to the shrine. It was he who organised for the regular service at the temple and for the regular conduct of the festivals. These arrangements still continue. Sri Ramanuja made arrangements for the living of priests on the hill itself and added many amenities for their living there. His own maternal uncle Tirumalai Nambi was made the head of the management to supervise the arrangements.[22] Sri Ramanuja was a daring social reformer. It was he who added to the Brahmin fold many an outcaste and untouchable.

The age of Ramanuja was an age of philosophy. As a result of the Sectarian fanaticism which characterised the age, each sect tried to prove that its religious tenets were philosophically far superior to those of the other. This led to a great philosophical activity which produced eminent philosophers and great thinkers. The educated public of the times evinced great interest in their thoughts and activities. The conservative religious section of the public grew suspicious of the Advaita Philosophy of Sankara and dubbed him "Prasanna Buddha" the hidden Buddha. Ramanuja was himself a great philosopher and the greatest exponent of Visishtadvaita Philosophy, the philosophy underlying the Vaishnava Bakthi movement.

[22] A History of Tirupathi, Chapter XI & XII.

The philosophy of Advaita soars to the greatest height of human thought which the common run of mankind could not understand or appreciate or follow. The philosophy of Ramanuja and his zeal for social reform had caught the imagination of the masses.

Unlike the Alwars who were only scholars in Tamil and were known only in the Tamil country, Sri Ramanuja was a great Sanskrit scholar. The exposition of his philosophy and his commentaries on Bhagavadgita and Brahma-Sutra in the light of his philosophy were in Sanskrit and these had made him known in North India as well. The fame of Ramanuja as a philosopher of the masses and as a reformer to uplift the down-trodden masses had spread throughout the length and breadth of India and with his fame grew the fame of the shrine to which he was very much attached and in which the deity was also pleased to perform miracles. Tirupathi thus outshone all other shrines of South India, came to be known throughout India and had thus a tremendous mass appeal which it still maintains.

These go a long way to prove that Tirupathi which grew into religious fame in the mediaeval times and thus became prominent to be well known throughout the country, cannot be identified as the Vada Venkatam of the ancient times described as the northern boundary in Thol-kappiam and help further to confirm the identification set forth in this article. Tirupathi, a tiny spot in the tiny corner of the country, can by no reason aspire to take the place of வேங்கடம் the long continuous northern boundary from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

This dreadful region of Venkatam at the top of the Tamil speaking country rendered access to the north extremely risky and perilous. It is this வேங்கடம் which had taken the toll of the lives of many a Tamilian and drew the tears of numerous ladies at the parting of

their lovers or husbands who attempted to cross this terrible region and go north for trade or in duty bound to serve the king. Their way lay through this dreadful tract of dry mountain slopes and jungles infested with barbarous hunters who shot down innocent travellers to test their aim and the sharpness of their arrows (அகம். 375) and robbers who killed them even when they had no money or property, for the mere pleasure of killing and witnessing the pangs of death (கலி. 4). When once a traveller stepped into this dreadful tract it was doubtful whether he will reach his destination or return at all alive.

In those ancient times in addition to the lack of good roads or safe routes and the lack of facilities for travel there were no recognised places to halt for the night on the way or to get food. There were no telegraph or postal facilities or any other means of communication with those who left their homes. If these factors are realised, it may not be difficult to appreciate the anguish of the ladies which almost flooded the literature of the country. To miss this identity of வேங்கடம் is to miss the real import of the bulk of Tamil literature and its basic realism.

This identification gives us a picture of the Tamil country at the time of the Poems of *Akananuru* and *Purananuru* which are dealt with in this article and which obviously extended to times pre-historic. It is well known that geographical features of a country and its environment shape the life, culture and civilization of its inhabitants. This physical barrier of வேங்கடம் influenced in a great measure the social, economic, political, commercial and cultural aspects of the civilization of the ancient Tamilians.

News and Notes

CULTURAL UNITY

Dr. Prasad's Appeal

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said that people should have nothing but the deepest regard for the languages and local customs of the various regions in the country.

They should try to foster and encourage them so that all the regions could contribute to the unity and cultural variety of the country, he added.

The President, who was inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the Andhra Association in Delhi, said cultural unity was not something new. This cultural pattern had, behind it, the sanction of a historical tradition which went back to at least 3,000 years. The edifice of our present-day unity was built on this glorious tradition.

The President said that it was essential that institutions representing regional interests or culture should try to increase emotional integration and cultural unity among the people.

Delhi, he said, was already a cosmopolitan city, representing the various strands and patterns of culture in the country.

—(*The Hindu*, August 29, 1960.)

COLLEGE TAMIL COMMITTEE SCHEME

The College Tamil Committee has submitted a scheme for the improvement of the standard of English in colleges, where Tamil medium courses have been started.

After detailed consideration of the scheme, the Government have passed orders for the conduct of annual seminars on the teaching of English in all Government colleges,

utilising the services of the British Council experts for conducting the said seminars. English Associations are also proposed to be started in all Government colleges, to develop oratorical talent among students in English.

Orders have also been passed, sanctioning a post of Additional Assistant Lecturer in English for such colleges, whose main work will be concentration on the subjects of English grammar, English composition, mastery of idiomatic English, etc. The Assistant Lecturer so appointed for the Government Arts College, Coimbatore, has joined duty.

—(*The Hindu,* September 14, 1960.)

TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGE

Govt.'s Policy Explained

"It is the policy of the Government to encourage students joining the Tamil medium in the Arts College," said Mr. C. Subramaniam, Education Minister, in reply to a question by Mr. Mohammed Raza Khan in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Subramaniam stated, in reply to another question from the same member, that the number of candidates who applied for admission to the Coimbatore Arts College for the B.A. degree course in Tamil medium this year was 240. The number of candidates selected was 100 against the 100 seats available. Full tuition fee remission was granted to all students whose parents' annual income did not exceed Rs. 3,000. In addition, a monthly stipend of Rs. 30 each, was given to 45 students in the Tamil medium classes, selected on the basis of merit. These stipendiaries should also satisfy the condition of the income-limit of Rs. 3,000, he added.

To another question from the same member, Mr. Subramaniam said that they wanted the students from other districts to come and join the Coimbatore Arts College for the purpose of getting instruction in Tamil medium. If no assistance was given to persons coming from other districts, they would find it difficult to prosecute their studies.

Mr. Raza Khan asked whether it would not amount to discrimination if the same concession was not extended

to the institutions imparting education through the English medium, in respect of the students from other districts.

Mr. Subramaniam replied that "it is the policy of the Government to encourage students joining the Tamil medium in the Arts College." If the member thought that was a discrimination, it was a discrimination in favour of Tamil.

Dr. A. Srinivasan asked whether the Government had taken any special steps to increase the number of applications to this particular Coimbatore Arts College in order to make it appear to the public that Tamil medium of instruction was becoming popular.

Mr. Subramaniam said that no such step was taken.

—(*The Hindu*, September 6, 1960.)

Book Reviews

THE DYNAMIC BRAHMIN: A study of the Brahmin's personality in Indian culture, with special reference to South India, by Balakrishna N. Nair, published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7.

As Dr. P. Natarajan says in a prefatory note to this book, "the Brahmin-non-Brahmin question has been a touchy subject, hitherto approached with a great deal of hesitation and much hush-hush." A refreshingly frank and forthright monograph, "The Dynamic Brahmin" by Mr. Nair, provides an analysis of the various techniques of social control employed by the Brahmins from the dim past of India's cultural history down to the present day.

He maintains the thesis that the Brahmin community has deliberately planned and carried out a scheme of cultural conquest. He shows how through leadership in the religious sphere the techniques of social control were organised and perfected by the agency of language. Sanskrit was accorded a lofty position and it became the dominant language of religion. A feverish attempt was made to import Sanskrit names and words into the regional languages.

Through the dominant position which he enjoyed in the temple and in the royal court the Brahmin secured his firm hold on society. In recent times he has taken advantage of Western education and captured for himself the key posts in the administrative set-up. The bureaucracy has grown from strength to strength and a tendency for promoting the interests of one's own caste men has been much in evidence. Latterly, however, on account of the cry against their monopoly of administrative service there has occurred relatively a set-back in the employment of Brahmins, but even now they continue to dominate the higher ranks.

Adaptability to changing conditions has always been a notable quality of the Brahmins and what has been apparently lost in the field of government service has been more than made up by their rise to prominence in the sphere of industry.

The crux of the problem is whether the ethno-centric Brahmin will ever play a sincere role in a socialistic pattern of society. Self-centred and cunning, the Brahmin has always placed his narrow interests above everything else. " The Mantras, for instance, were not taught to the common people, not even to those members of the socially integrated tribes or groups who voluntarily or otherwise accepted the supremacy of the Brahmins. The ceremonials remained their exclusive privilege, since the rituals and the accompanying esoteric knowledge were their sole possessions. It was this exclusiveness in ritualism and worship more than anything else that disgusted Non-Brahmin seekers after truth."

The Brahmin has always devoted great attention to the development of his personality, organising himself as part of a status-group. Therefore a social democracy is difficult to be attained in an atmosphere of caste rivalry. If the socialistic pattern has to be achieved the caste mentality would have to be changed. Either a revolutionary termination of the age-old caste system or a complete change of outlook alone can save Hindu society from the impediments to progress.

While Mr. Nair's conclusions are broadly acceptable, some of his premises are open to question. It is doubtful whether there has been a pre-meditated cultural conquest on the part of the Brahmins from the outset. It seems too much to say that: "From Parasurama to Pandit Nehru there is a single thread running through the social historical setting of Indian society and connected by the same zeal and apostolic motivation in order to teach, control and spread." True, there were certain stages when calculated effort was made by the Brahmins to entrench their position and improve it further. But it is doubtful whether in the beginning there was a deliberate effort in this direction. In respect of South India it was primarily in imitation of the Buddhists and Jains that the Brahmins came, and in the course of the mutual struggle the Brahmins triumphed.

In particular, they were able to capture the influence at the royal court, which added to their prestige and helped them build up their religious and social position. So the 'cultural conquest' was not always pre-planned; circumstances were properly utilised.

In drawing a facile picture of culture conquest one phenomenon of later days has not been recognised by the author. The higher sections of Non-Brahmins have imbibed the good as well as the bad features of the Brahmin pattern of organisation in relation to people lower to them in the gradation of caste. For example, the Vellala and the Nair have, in respect of social arrogance and intolerance, outheroded Herod.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO TAMIL LITERATURE: by M. M. Uwise, M.A., published by Tamil Manram, Galhinna, Kandy. Price Rs. 2/-. Pages 132.

The book under review attempts to enumerate and evaluate the contributions of Muslims to Tamil Literature. It marks a beginning, a beautiful beginning, of a study till now neglected both by Muslims and by non-Muslims.

In the first chapter the author discusses the various branches of Tamil literature to which the Muslims have contributed. A matter of fact short history of the Muslim invasion of the South is given in the second chapter. The well known epic, Chira Puranam of Umaru Pulavar, is dealt with in some detail in the third one. Citing instances the author points out that Umaru Pulavar has followed the Hindu epic forms. Chira Puranam has 5,026 stanzas, whereas Civaka Cintamani has only 3,145. On that ground, the author states that Chira Puranam can be classified as a literary composition. (P. 19). But, to classify a work as a literary composition, mere length counts the least. There are other weighty considerations like the epic form, poetic merit, influence on other poets and popular appeal, etc. While assessing the merit of Chira Puranam the author looks for the conventional details like the description of the four fold divisions of land, the country, the town, river, etc. A rigorous and scientific mode of criticism would have enhanced the merit of this work. The author says that "Umaru has exceeded the limits of Islam in

including a few practices of Hindus." Actually, these add a local colouring to a foreign theme. Further, we have to remember here that Umaru had to cater to the taste of a predominantly Hindu population to win recognition as a poet and that he was a student of Kadigaimuttuppulavar, a pious Hindu.

In chapter four the author speaks about the Muslim Prabandhas. The fifth chapter deals with the new literary forms introduced by Muslims in Tamil like Paṭaippoor (a kind of war ballad), Munjat (supplication to Allah and to his blessed devotees), Kissa (narrative story), Macala (questions), and Nama (book or story). Unfortunately none of these forms are now in vogue. Chapter six deals with the popular literary forms like Maalai, Chintu, etc. In the next chapter Muslim prose literature is analysed. Since a large number of these prose works are translations from Arabic works or adaptations from Urdu, a considerable number of words from these languages have gained currency in Tamil. Chapters eight and nine speak about Muslim Tamil mystics. Well known among them is Mastan Sahib. In the concluding chapter which is the eleventh, the author deplores the existing indifference to Muslim literature for which the Muslims are partly to be blamed. In the Appendix a few Arabic words are given in Tamil script. The bibliography is comprehensive. It includes names of all published and yet to be published Muslim Tamil works. The dates of a few of the works are also given. In short, the author has to be congratulated on opening a new vista of Tamil studies. Except for a few slips in spelling, the work is well printed and priced low.

Vol. IX. No. 2 APR.—JUNE, 1961.

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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 Rs. 7 yearly

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Thiruvalluvar's Message to the World *

DR. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR

Thiruvalluvar, one of the greatest of Tamil poets and thinkers who lived somewhere between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. has given to the world his monumental work, *Thirukkural* (consisting of 1,330 couplets) which is of perennial interest to the nations of the world. The work has been translated into several important languages of the world. Close students of *Thirukkural* like Dr. G. U. Pope, Mr. Ellis and Rev. H. A. Popley have paid glowing tributes to the author and have stated that the *Thirukkural* is a beacon light for the world. Scholars like Dr. Albert Schweitzer have acclaimed the work as a marvellous treatise on ethics, which while laying emphasis on self-affirmation instead of on self-negation shows to the world how people should love one another, revere one another and understand one another. On the foundations of understanding, tolerance, love and reverence for life, the edifice of the Unity of Mankind is to be erected. Thiruvalluvar has done a great deal to pave the way for Universal Brotherhood, Peace and Plenty.

Though the work was written nearly 2,000 years ago, it is of great interest in the modern world too. Some salient points alone can be touched in this paper.

Thiruvalluvar has the message that one can either be a householder or an ascetic and one can prosper as well as the other and attain bliss. Sometimes, stray verses from *Thirukkural* are cited to show that Thiruvalluvar placed the life of an ascetic over and above the life and doings

* A paper presented at the XXV International Congress of Orientalists at Moscow, August, 1960.

of a man pursuing domestic life. Yet one can cite authority for the other view also. For instance, in *Kural* 48 he says that the householder who, not swerving from virtue, helps the ascetic in his way of life, endures more than those who endure penance. In *Kural* 38 he says that he who suffers no day to pass without doing some good turn to others will by such conduct permanently block future births.

He has laid stress on the attitude of the heart rather than on the externals of religion. In *Kural* 34 he says whatever is done with a spotless mind is virtue : all else is vain show. In another place (in *Kural* 280) he says that there is no use of a shaven crown or of tangled hair, if one abstains from such deeds as the wise have derided.

The message of Thiruvalluvar is not pessimistic but optimistic. He has asked us to brave dangers and to stand fast. More than this, he has asked us to be cheerful under adverse circumstances. (See for instance *Kural* 621 — If troubles come, simply laugh : there is nothing like laughter which can overcome sorrow.) In another place, he pities people who cannot be cheerful at all. In *Kural* 999 he says, "To those who cannot rejoice, the whole world is buried in darkness even in broad daylight." One of the ways in which one can be cheerful is to avoid wrath. He asks in Kural 304, "Are there greater enemies than wrath. which would crush laughter and joy ?"

Sometimes, Thiruvalluvar is looked upon as having underlined the inexorable nature of fate. Though in a chapter (Chap. 38), he has stressed the importance of fate and though in the concluding couplet of that chapter he has asked "What is stronger than fate ? If an expedient to avert it is thought of, it will intrude through that expedient itself." It is significant that in other places he has held up the free will of man (as in Chap. 62 on Manly Effort), where in the concluding couplet he says, "They who strive hard without fatigue or desperation or delay

will vanquish fate and throw it out." In four chapters, especially (Chapters 60 to 63 entitled "On Enthusiasm, Against Idleness, On Manly Effort, On Perseverance in spite of Difficulties"), he has laid great emphasis on the free will of man and has removed the misconception that man is God's sport and that all his doings have been pre-ordained or pre-determined. To him, fate is sometimes esoteric but never inexorable.

In the chapter on "Enthusiasm" for instance, Thiruvalluvar states that the property or possession to be prized for is enthusiasm, since people who are destitute of that cannot possess anything at all. To be enthusiastic in mind and to be energetic in body is a great gift. All other possessions like the possession of wealth pass away and abide not. People who are agile and enthusiastic never say, "I have lost my property". Persons who persevere to their utmost will be sought after by wealth. Thiruvalluvar wants everyone to have high ambitions and glorious aspirations in life. It does not matter to him if the object sought for sometimes will not materialise. It is enough to have thought nobly and aimed high. It is only people who sweat and labour and persevere that can be liberal and generous to others in gifts. In the modern world also, this is found to be quite true. It is only nations like the American, Russian and the British who have consolidated their economic position that can go to the help of the under-developed or undeveloped countries. Enthusiasm is itself wealth, according to the learned sage. "Those that do not have that wealth are only trees in the shape of man."

In the chapter entitled "Against Idleness", this sage has said in unmistakable terms that people who are idle lose everything in the world and are a burden to themselves and to the nation. People who want their families to become illustrious or prominent should shun idleness in every sphere of their activities. Sometimes, if a person belongs to a great family but he is himself lethargic, then

the whole family is ruined. Procrastination, forgetfulness, laziness and slumber are the things which ultimately lead persons to ruin. If laziness is nurtured either in a home or in a nation, that home or that nation becomes ultimately a slave to enemies. If a man conquers idleness the reproach that would have been his otherwise would disappear.

In the next chapter (Chap. 62) on "Manly Effort", the poet has exhorted the nations to be smart and enterprising. He is one of the great thinkers of the world who have been of the opinion that the best way to attain greatness is not to regard anything as impossible under the sun. If one strives hard, one is sure to make possible even the supposedly impossible things. One should not do things in a half-hearted way ; one should exert oneself to the full, for the world will abandon those who leave their work unfinished. It is only those that are alert and agile that can be proud of being helpful to others, because generosity of a man who does not strive hard will be of little worth like the manliness of a hermaphrodite who brandishes a sword. On the other hand, if people are engrossed in their work with the thought that the path of glory is not a bed of roses, they will be able to prop up and support their kith and kin. Manly effort makes a wealthy man ; lack of effort means poverty. Not to be born in a fortunate family is no sin, but to be devoid of manly effort is a thing of disgrace. Even though one is not ordained by fate to secure a particular thing, if one makes an honest and earnest effort, that itself is a sure step towards success. And sometimes, a man who is of strong manly effort, even if he is not as fortunate as his brothers or brethren to reap quick benefits or to become suddenly great or wealthy, is sure to receive at least his due wages. Probably, on occasions he may not be able to achieve spectacular distinction or reward. But, persons who undauntedly labour and work hard can conquer fate, even if fate has willed otherwise.

Thiruvalluvar wants us to laugh, as pointed before, even amidst great dangers, for that is the only way in which dangers or sorrows can be overcome. People who do not sorrow in the midst of sorrow actually torment sorrow. Just as a bullock while drawing a cart through deep mire and sand struggles hard against all difficulties by lowering its very nose near to the earth, by bending its knees, and by pulling hard, people who want to become great should not hesitate to encounter difficulties in their way. If troubles come even in quick succession, the brave man should never be daunted by them. Even in the midst of happiness and joy, the person, who has cultivated a disposition to think that after all sorrow is the lot of man, never becomes troubled in mind. Anyone who regards even troubles and distresses as pleasure becomes great and is sometimes worshipped by his own enemies. This has become true in various continents and climes where great leaders of thought and leaders in political life have sacrificed their lives for holding aloft the torch of learning and for keeping the flag of their country flying high.

Thiruvalluvar has devoted a fine chapter to "Agriculture". He says that agriculture, though a laborious profession, is the most excellent one, because all other professions will not survive if there is no production of food. Agriculturists are more or less a linch-pin of the world and are the support of other toilers who cannot till the soil. It can be said that those that live on agriculture alone lead a proper life; all others may be regarded as carrying on a cringing and dependent life. Patriotic farmers are able to bring other states and nations under the umbrella of their country. Even the ascetics who abhor possessions and do not apparently have desire for anything will suffer, if the farmers do not do their duty. Thiruvalluvar has laid great stress on manuring. "Manuring is better than ploughing, and after weeding, watching is better than watering". The agriculturist who lives nearer to his farm is sure to reap better benefits than the

one who is an absentee landlord. This proximity to the field of operation has been emphasised by Thiruvalluvar as follows: "If the owner does not personally attend to his cultivation, his land will behave like an angry wife and languish". In a jocular way, he further remarks that the Lady-Earth will laugh at the sight of those who say that they have nothing of their own and go about begging. The idea is that Mother-Earth wants her sons and daughters to apply themselves to agricultural operations in order that poverty might be abolished and plenty might be ushered in.

To the nations of the world, Thiruvalluvar, if he were alive today, would say, "How in the face of imminent danger of wholesale destruction of life rendered possible by the release of 'A' bombs and 'H' bombs and other violent means of destruction you are thinking in terms of conquering other nations and annexing their territories?" In fact, in the chapter on "Instability of Life" (Chap. 34 verse 7) he said, "Innumerable millions of thought occupy the minds of those people who do not even know whether they will be alive the next moment." Though every individual and nation should work hard and earn and spend and be happy, this should not be at the expense of another and should not be to the detriment of others. He has said, "Whatever comes in the right way is good. And whatever comes in an unnatural way or wrong way is bad". There is pleasure and happiness in things derived through virtue, and agony in regard to things obtained by wickedness, cruelty and slaughter.

He never bases his codes of conduct or ethics on principles of caste or creed. His is a work intended for the whole world without any bar of colour, caste or creed. Hundreds are the occasions when he speaks in his work about the world, the world's inhabitants and their welfare. His is a work not for one country or clime but is intended to be followed by all the nations of the world, as Dr. G. U. Pope once put it.

His chapter on "Good Conduct" (Chap. 14) is a monumental contribution to the thought of the world. In that chapter, he exhorts us to be of good conduct, for good conduct elevates man. Consequently, it has to be nurtured more carefully than wealth. The soul has no other comrade than good conduct to go with it, and therefore propriety of conduct is to be jealously guarded. People born in supposedly higher communities lose their greatness if they are not of proper conduct. "The envious man loses his greatness or eminence". The proprieties of life are to be observed firmly, because transgression means misery. "Good conduct is the seed of virtue; evil ways of life perpetually cause sorrow". A test of greatness lies in finding out whether a man, despite being eminent, talks evil things. Having learnt several arts and sciences of the world, if one has not got to know how to conduct oneself agreeably in the world, one's learning is absolutely of no avail.

These few words, I hope, will serve as an incentive to know more about the great Tamil saint, scholar and poet, Thiruvalluvar, whose memory lives green in the minds of over 35 millions of people in the Tamil country.

The German Contribution to Tamil Studies

DR. ARNO LEHMANN

This short theme mentions two facts which are hardly known to German Indologists, i.e. Dravidology and the work done by Germans in the field of Tamil studies and Tamil translations. It is a fact that to many people Indology seems to center around Sanscrit. And so Dravidology has been overlooked and the rich literature we have ... ... spoken languages of the people has not been taken cognisance of. It may be that the near future will bring a change in this respect. The fact to be noted is, after all, that in modern India the spoken languages are highly honoured and that even new States are being formed on the basis of language. It is K. M. Panikkar who in his *Survey of Indian History* has drawn our attention to the mine of wealth to be found in the Vaishnavite and Saivite Tamil literature.[1] He says that any comparison between the literature in Sanscrit and in the spoken languages of the people will show that the latter is of a naturalness and beauty and reflecting a living faith, while the former under the heavy weight of its literary tradition turned out to become more and more removed from reality and even artificial having lost the intimate connection with actual life and social and spiritual aspirations and movements.[2] In this connection he mentions Tulsidas (1532-1623) and calls him " the poet of India ". Though he was a Sanscrit scholar he much preferred to write in a living people's language ! While explaining this he called his language an earthen vessel containing amrit.[3] Already some 30 years ago Professor Sylvain Levi begged the world to

[1] K. M. PANIKKAR: *Geschichte Indiens*. 1957, p. 127.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 184.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 232.

note the "enormous contribution of Tamilnad towards the culture of All-India". It would be good if many would realise the truth of the words of his disciple Dr. Charls Fabri who wrote: "By and by people will have to see and to acknowledge that Tamil literature is as important as the Sanscrit literature".[4]

It was about this Tamil that the Rev. J. E. Grundler, one of the earliest Tranquebar missionaries, wrote on 15-1-1715 that in his opinion it was worthy to be taught at German universities[5] (which at present is verified, however, at Halle/S where the present writer does teach Tamil). In the field of the Tamil language very early and very important contributions were made by German missionaries.

It would be unfair not to mention that also representatives of other nations have done some excellent work, though later, for example, the Italian C. J. Beschi, the Englishman G. U. Pope, the Irishman Caldwell, the Swede H. Frykholm and the Dane H. Jensen who gave us the English translation of 3,644 "Tamil Proverbs".[6] In John Murdoch's *Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books* may be noted what on the whole has been done in the field of translations and printing.[7]

It is well to remember that almost all of these authors had come to know Tamil and to do this work because of their missionary obligations. Excepting the Indologist Eugen Hultzsch of Halle/S., who was the editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* it also holds true of the German students and translators of Tamil: they too were in the service of the mission i.e., the Tranquebar Mission. Even the very first theologian, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg,

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4 *Bulletin der Indischen Botschaft*, Bonn, May 1959, p. 23.

5 *Mallesche Berichte*, I, p. 861.

6 NERMAN JENSEN: *A Classical Collection of Tamil Proverbs* Madras/London, 1897.

7 J. MURDOCH: *A Classified Catalogue of Tamil Printed Books*, Madras, 1865.

who landed on the 9th of July 1706 at Tranquebar, turned out to be the very first German Dravidologist and thus the prototype of his successors. He was really at home in this language ; he is said to have spoken it as well as his mother-tongue "and like a native Malabarian".[8] B. Ziegenbalg went on reading and reading Tamil. Some books he went over a hundred times, and even while dining he would listen to the reading of Tamil texts. He was not a narrow-minded man : he read books of theological, historical, philosophical, philological and also medical contents.[9] In his *Bibliotheca Malabarica* of August 1708 which was re-discovered at Halle in 1958[10] he lists the 161 books he had read giving the titles and the contents thus offering a most valuable contribution towards the history of Tamil literature.

One of his greatest deeds was the attempt to write a Tamil dictionary which happened to become the basis and source of other dictionaries to follow and especially of the so-called Tranquebar Dictionary.[11] Already after two years of study he in his dictionary had 20,000 words and phrases, and after another four years he had collected 40,000 words. His *Lexicon Poeticum* contained "17,000 words which are hardly understood by the common man but by scholars only".[12] This work alone served to earn the thanks and admiration of philologists and indologists. But even more so his *Grammatica Damulica* of 1715 which was printed in 1716 at Halle/S. (!). It was this grammar which 123 years later was used by the famous Friedrich Ruckert when he had to study Tamil in order to teach

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8 B. ZIEGENBALG : "*Ausführlicher Bericht*" vom 22.8.1708. HALLE MDCCX, p. 31. *KurzgefaBte Missions-Geschichte aus Ostindien*. Halle 1740, p. 172.

9 ARNO LEHMANN : *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, Berlin 1957, pp. 71-82.

10 ARNO LEHMANN : *Bibliotheca Malabarica, eine wieder entdeckte Handschrift.*

Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universitat, Halle-Wittenberg. Ges.-Sprachw. VIII, 4/5 pp. 903-906. Juni 1959.

11 *A Dictionary of Tamil and English*, Last ed. Tranquebar 1933, pp. 910.

12 ARNO LEHMANN : *Alte Briefe aus Indien*, p. 86.

Tamil.[13] Later on the German theologians Fabrizius, Rhenius, Graul and Beythan worked on Tamil Grammar.[14]

We leave aside here all the purely theological works and translations of Ziegenbalg[15] and turn to his indological books. These three indological books had a rare fate: in Europe they were not valued and even lost, but it was only after 154, 215 and 222 years respectively that they were discovered again and printed. These are the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Gotter* (Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods), Madras, 1867, pp. 290; *das Malabarische Heidenthum* (Malabarian Religion), Amsterdam 1926, pp. 292; and B. Ziegenbalg's *Kleinere Schriften* (Smaller Writings), Amsterdam, 1930, pp. 87. These early and thorough descriptions of South-Indian Hinduism were based on careful studies. Ziegenbalg assures his readers that he did not simply quote other authors but that he himself got the material from discussions, earnest studies, conversations and source-books only.[16]

In the *Malabarian Religion* he disclosed the "principles and doctrines in theology and philosophy" of Hinduism. In the 26 chapters of the first part he writes about "what the Tamilians believe and teach"; he deals with their books, gods, virtues and the conception of sin, temples and festivals, priests, devils etc. The second part in 18 chapters then describes the chronology and the castes,

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13 L. ALSDORF: *Deutsch — Indische Geistesbeziehungsn.* 1942, p. 57/8.

14 C. T. E. RHENIUS: *A Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Madras, 1853, 295 pp.
CH. GRAUL: *Outline of Tamil Grammar*, Leipzig, 1855, pp. 101.
H. BEYTHAN: *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 225.

15 Lists are found in:
ARNO LEHMANN: *Es begann in Transquebar*, 2 ed. Berlin, 1956, Note 27 pp. 319-321;
ARNO LEHMANN: *Halle und die südindische Sprach — und Religionswissenschaft*, *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Universitat* Halle 'Wittenberg, Ges.-Sprachw. Reiche Nr. 2, II/1952/53, Heft 3 Note 18, p. 156.

16 *Malabarisches Neidenthum*, Editor: W. Caland. Amsterdam 1926, p. 15.

ceremonies and agriculture, physics and medicine, art and chemistry, poetry and poets, music and astrology, ethics and the art of soothsaying, their warfaring etc.

The *Genealogy of Malabarian Gods* is a book of 290 printed pages, and yet its manuscript had been written between the 27 March and the 31 May 1713; a magnificent piece of work in so short a time! Ziegenbalg knew that with this book he was to offer "a complete genealogy of gods" the like of which had never until then seen the light of day. In it he writes about "the gods, their origin, form and qualities, the many names they have, their families, their functions and deeds, their appearances and avatars and abodes, pagodas, servants and holy men, their books, days of feasting and fasting, and the sacrifices offered in and outside the temples".[17] These two books are even today mines of wealth or, in Tamil: Kalvikkalanchiam! Ziegenbalg had been named an "ice-breaker".[18] And this he was, especially as he was the first European to translate a Tamil text into an European language. These translations we find in his *Smaller Writings*.[19] He translated into German *Nidi Wenpa, Kondei Wenden* and *Ulaga Nidi*.[20]

When Ziegenbalg wrote the books mentioned and even translated from Tamil into German he wanted "to serve the much beloved Europe", and he also desired to fight against the then prevailing idea (based on entire ignorance!) that "the Malabarians were a barbaric nation without scholarship and moral virtues". He himself had learned "to have better ideas".[21] He also thought of

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17 *Genealogte der Malabarischnen Gotter*, Editor: W. GERMANN. Madras, 1867, p. 1.

18 F. MERKEL: *Ein vergessener Religionsforschsr, Forschungen* und Fortschritte. 9. Jahrg., Nr. 16. Berlin 1-6-1933, pp. 234/5.

19 B. Ziegenbalg's *Kleinere Schriften*, Editor: W. CALAND. Amsterdam 1930.

20 ARNO LEHMANN: *Es begann in Tranquebar*, 1956, p. 55.

21 B. ZIEGENBALG: *Malabarisches Neidenthum*, pp. 11 and 61; Kleinere Schriften, pp. 11 and 25.

helping his successors, to serve them as an eye-opener and to make their work easier — though sometimes he felt that his work was not a mere joy but also a plague.[22]

To Ziegenbalg's contemporary colleague J. E. Grundler we owe thanks for his treatise on *The Malabarian Medicus.* In this paper he collects what the Tamilians had done in the field of medicine. With it he wants to be of service to the European medical men.[23] The original manuscript is still with us at the Mission Archives at Halle/S.

The next man to be mentioned as Dravidologist and trarεtor of prime merit is Karl Graul. His outstanding work is the *Bibliotheca Tamulica sive Opera praecipua Tamuliensium.*[24] The first of the four volumes contains in 203 pages the German translation of *Tria opera Indorum philosophiam orthodoxam exponentia,* i.e. Kaivalyanavanita, Pancadasaprakarana and Atmabodaprakasika. Vol. II, of 174 pages, contains a fine printing of the Tamil text of Kaivalyanavanita and its translation into English so as to serve also the English speaking students of Tamil. Added are a Tamil Glossary and grammatical annotations. Vol. III, of 196 pages, is also very important : The *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar, "the jewel of the whole of Tamil literature" is translated into German ! And Vol. IV is even more wonderful : it contains the Tamil text of the *Kural* and

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22 B. ZIEGENBALG : *Malabar. Neidenthum,* p. 12 ; *Genealogie der Malabar. Götter,* p. 3.

23 ARNO LEHMANN : *Nallesche Mediziner und Medizinen am Anfang der deutsch-indischen Beziehungen, Wiss. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Universitat,* Halle-Wittenberg. Math.—Nat. Jahrg. V, Heft 2, pp. 117-132.

24 KARL GRAUL : *Bibliotheca Tamulica*

I. *Tamulische Schriften zur Erlauterung des Vedanta Systems.* Leipzig, 1854, pp. 203.

II. *Kaivaljanavanita.* A Vedanta Poem. Leipzig-London, 1855. pp. 174.

III. *Der Kural des Tiruvalluvar. Ein Gnomisches Gedicht,* Leipzig-London, 1856, pp. 196.

IV. *Kural of Tiruvalluvar,* High Tamil Text. Leipzig, 1865, pp. 335.

below the same text in common Tamil, and in addition a translation into Latin. Grammatical notes and a glossary are added. Hardly known are two more of his translations which were published in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1854 and 1857. There we find *Sivajnanasittiyar* and Nampi's *Akapporul.*

My predecessor Professor Dr. H. W. Schomerus is the next in the line of German Dravidologists. In 1912 appeared his *Caiva-Siddhanta,* 444 pages. In this source-book on Indian mystics he made the reader see the sharp Tamilian intellect and what this was able to produce. Schomerus later on translated into German *The Hymns of Manikka Vasagar,* 215 pages, and also the *Periya Puranam,* 306 pages. This book also contains a translation of the *Tiruvatavurarpuranam.* He also is the translator of the songs of Karaikkal Ammaiyar and the Andal-Alvar.[25] When he died he left about 1,000 pages of manuscripts and translations, the titles of which I have mentioned elsewhere.[26]

For the time being the last in this line is the present writer who spent more than seven years in South India. *The Hymns of Tayumanavar* were for the first time translated into German,[27] and at the same time this translation is the first really complete one, without any omission, in an European language.

This "prince of Tamil mystics"[28] certainly deserves to be widely known! In another translation I went down to the time about 800 A.D. Translated were hymns sung by Tirujnanasambandamurti Nayanar, Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar and Sundaramurti Nayanar. The hymns of these famous

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25 H. W. SCHOMERUS: *Indien und das Christentum I.* Halle, 1931, pp. 177-198.

26 A list is found in ARNO LEHMANN: *Die sivaitische Frommiakeit der tamulischen Erbauungslitreatur,* Berlin, 1948, p. 27.

27 ARNO LEHMAN: *Die Hymnen des Tayumanavar, Texte zur Gottesmystik des Hinduismus.* Gütersloh 1935, pp. 270.

28 ARNO LEHMANN: *Die sivaitische Frömmigkeit der tamulischen Erbauungsliteratur,* Berlin, 1948.

singers help greatly to understand and to value the bhakti religion.

Within the vast field of Indology, the studies in and translations of Tamil literature are but a small section. Yet they belong to the whole of indology which no longer can be considered to be the field of Sanscrit-literature alone. Tamil literature helps to serve as a key towards the understanding of Indian philosophy and religion, Indian mystics and Indian ethics. It therefore should be the concern of indologists and theologians, philosophers and students of linguistics to pay greater attention to Tamil studies.

Tolkappiyar and the Science of Phonemics

C. R. SANKARAN

DEDICATED TO THE LATE PROFESSOR W. MEYER-EPPLER *

ABSTRACT

The importance of a detailed study of Tolkappiyam was stressed in my monograph. A detailed study of some of the Sutras is undertaken now.

Interpolations are found in ancient classics—lines 2, 3, and 4, of the first Sūtra of Pirappiyal are proved to be interpolations.

'Unti' is defined as the diaphragm and the first Sūtra is critically examined. The substance of this Sūtra is briefly this : This upward breath pushed out by the diaphragmatic action enters the vocal organs, attains formation and then falls into a regularity. The Sūtra further says that when the speech sequence is analysed into phonemes of which it is composed and the component elements of the phonemes are examined, the formative compositions which bring these phonemes into existence are varied and different in their characteristics.

INTRODUCTION

In my monograph, 'Phonemics of Old Tamil'[1] I stressed the importance of a critical study of *Tolkappiyam*. It is necessary to recall those very words I used then. I

* Professor W. Meyer-Eppler was a great scientist friend of the author of this paper. He took great interest in the Aytam phenomenon of Tolkappiyar and the alpha-phonoid theory of the author. He, it was who moved the German academy for research and the Bonn University to invite the author of this paper as a visiting professor at Bonn in 1960. The author C. R. Sankaran cannot adequately express in words how much he owes to the late Professor W. Meyer-Eppler for the many generous encouragements he had received from him in the scientific work. He was greatly interested in placing the study of phonemics cn a mathematical basis and did much to popularise this in Germany. He died at the age of 47 on Friday the 8th of July 1960 when the author was at Bonn.

1 *Phonemics of Old Tamil*, Deccan College Monograph Series 7, Poona, 1951.

wrote, "We are lost in wonder that in this old Tamil grammar, we re-discover, as it were, many of our own modern ideas. The conviction is gained more and more that it is worth the while to subject *Tolkappiyam* to a detailed scrutiny exploiting this beautiful work from the rigorous viewpoint of modern Phonemics."[2] It will be obvious from these words that my monograph was not prepared after a critical or detailed study of this great work — which may well nigh take the life-time of a competent scholar — but only after a surface-study, as it were, by rough and ready method. I have sufficiently indicated in my monograph that I followed mostly the English translations of Dr. P. S. S. Sastri only on the bare surface. Divergencies from his translations for obvious scientific reasons were also indicated by me suitably.[3]

I was so overwhelmed with the rich harvest which even this rough and ready method yielded, and the phonemic truths found even on the surface of this exquisite work were so astounding, I thought it my duty to proclaim them to the modern world without waiting for critical or detailed study. After the publication of my monograph, I rather concentrated myself in investigating, developing and explaining my alpha-phonoid theory based on the Aytam-phenomenon which I picked up from *Tolkappiyam*, straying of course, now and then, into allied fields for a while.

It was a lucky accident that I read one of the valuable articles of Rao Sahib K. K. Pillai in the TAMIL CULTURE, as my attention to it was drawn by one of my friends. Subsequently I got into correspondence with him which dragged me again to the study of *Tolkappiyam*. His correspondence was so thought-provoking and illuminating that it goaded me to dive deep into at least some of the basic sūtras relating to phonemic structure found in

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[2] Page 58 of Ref. No. 1.

[3] cf. Foot note 21 on page 13 of Ref. No. 1.

'Pirappiyal', the chapter on the birth of the phonemes, as it is usually translated and some of the results of this study are set forth in the present paper.

INTERPOLATIONS

To rejoice in the glory of the past has always been a human trait all through the ages. Exploiting this universal interest in the past glory, the malignant busybody has been at work all over the world to create glory where it did not exist and to white-wash the black spots wherever they existed, resorting to interpolations, forgeries and other questionable methods. It is the considered opinion of the research scholars that no ancient classic is free from this evil. It is therefore necessary for anyone who takes up a critical study of any ancient work to spot out first the interpolations, if any, and to eschew them. Interpolations often introduce new thoughts which do not generally fit into the particular pattern of the thought of the author and the consequent lapses, therefore, of the interpolator cannot withstand the scrutiny of a critical investigator. It may be taken as a general principle, that whatever is repugnant or contrary to the main text of any ancient work should decidedly be an interpolation. With these broad principles in view, the chapter on the birth of phonemes (chapter III) will be examined.

The chapter opens with the following sūtra :—

Unti mutalā muntuvali tōn̲r̲it
Talaiyin̲u mitatr̲inu nencin̲u nilaiip
Pallu mitalu nāvu mūkku
Maṇṇamu mulappaṭa veṇmur̲ai nilaiyā
Nur̲uppur̲ r̲amaiya ner̲ippaṭa nāṭi
Yellā veḷuttun collun kālaip
Pir̲appi n̲ākkam vēr̲uvē r̲iyala
Tir̲appaṭat teriyuṅ kāṭchi yān̲a.

உந்தி முதலா முந்துவளி தோன்றித்
தலையினு மிடற்றினு நெஞ்சினு நிலைஇப்
பல்லு மிதழு நாவு மூக்கும்
அண்ணமு முளப்பட வெண்முறை நிலையான்
உறுப்புற் றமைய நெறிப்பட நாடி
எல்லா வெழுத்துஞ் சொல்லுங் காலைப்
பிறப்பி னாக்கம் வேறுவே றியல
திறப்படத் தெரியுங் காட்சி யான.

This forms the introduction to the subject of phonemic structure dealt with in this chapter and facilitates the correct understanding of its scientific basis. Though laconic in style, the brief and pithy words reveal the analytic study which the author made of the speech sequence to arrive at the phonemic units and the principles of phonemic structure.

LINES 2 TO 4 ARE INTERPOLATIONS

A critical study of this sūtra reveals that its lines 2, 3 and 4 are interpolations. They mar the general trend of the sūtra and its aphoristic nature. They do not fit into the pattern of thought embodied in the rest of the lines. The thought embodied in line 1, runs without hindrance into line 5, in orderly sequence as தோன்றி, உற்று, அமைய, நெறிப்பட, etc. and does not need the intervening lines for its continuity. The insertion of the lines 2 to 4 in between them disrupts the thought structure, inverts the sequence of the thought as well as the grammatical construction.

The second line asserts that the breath stays or halts (நிலைஇ) in the head etc. and the fourth line continues this ill-conceived idea and includes head as one of the positions which produce phonemes! Tolkappiyar nowhere mentions, either in this chapter or elsewhere, head, as one of the vocal organs, which gives rise to phonemes. In the stream of speech there is no room for the breath to enter the head or sojourn there. It is not only erroneous but

even ridiculously preposterous to state that the breath halts in the head to produce a phoneme at all!

The lines 2, 3 and 4 thus offend the physiological truth obviously being contrary to it and are therefore manifestly repugnant to the rest of the chapter and to *Tolkappiyam* as a whole. They have therefore to be expelled as flagrant interpolations, which clearly they are without doubt! Evidently some misguided enthusiast introduced these lines to rectify a supposed defect in order to place the phonemes of *Tolkappiyam* on a par with Sanskrit phonemes of so called murdhanya variety.

Derivation and Definition of Unti

This sūtra offers yet another impediment to the correct understanding of its meaning. The very first word in the first line Unti உந்தி has to be critically examined for its correct meaning.

This unti has been interpreted by all the commentators to mean the nābhi of the Sanskrit, i.e. the navel. No doubt a few Sangam poets and later writers have also used this word in this sense but the word carries in itself its own meaning which is far different from what it has been taken to mean all along quite apparently. உந்தி is derived from the word உந்து which means to push out or thrust away. உந்தி therefore means that which pushes or thrusts away (உந்துவது உந்தி). The difficulty encountered by the commentators who came more than a thousand years after the author had not been so much in finding the meaning of the word as it was obviously in identifying the human organ which performs the biological function denoted by the word, putting themselves on a false search, as it were!

The navel or the umbilical chord, which this word has been taken to mean wrongly, is really called கொப்பூழ்

Koppūl in Tamil which is the shortened form of கோப்பூழ் (கோப்பு+ஊழ்=கோப்பூழ்). கோப்பு means that which connects and ஊழ் means that which comes off in natural course. The meaning of கோப்பு is obvious and that of ஊழ் requires elucidation. ஊழ்த்த or ஊழ்ப்ப in the sense of coming off or falling away is often used in Sangam literature. பழம் ஊழ்த்து (புறம். 381), மென்கொம் பூழ்த்த மணிமருள் பூவின் பாடு (குறுந்தொகை, 138), and கொங்கம் பொன்னென தாதூழ்ப்ப (கலி. 33) are some of the instances of such an usage. ஊழ் Ūl denotes fate as that which comes off in natural order as a sequence of one's own past actions. கோப்பூழ் thus denotes that which connects with the mother's womb or the placenta therein and comes off in natural course at the time of parturition. No better physiological term than this can be thought of to express the navel. The words umbilical chord or navel and even nābhi meet it half way only as they superficially refer to the central position in the body. No other word to supplant this tell-tale scientific term in Tamil seems to be found. The function of this கொப்பூழ் is to draw and absorb nutrition from the mother and its function is obviously not to push out or thrust away anything! Is the genius of Tamil language reflected here which brings into awareness what otherwise would have remained as an unconscious "yearning to be re-united with childhood with the shelter and protection of motherly aid" carried to the womb itself in the pre-natal period? (cf. Joist A. M. Merrloo — *The Two faces of Man—Two studies on the sense of time and of ambivalence*, International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 68.)

The human organ which in reality has the function of pushing out or thrusting away (உந்துதல்) is the diaphragm. It thrusts away the lung which sits on it and thus causes the breath to get out and causes the phenomenon or speech. If we are to be guided by the scientific content of the word உந்தி, the organ denoted by it is unmistakably the diaphragm and nothing but the diaphragm.

I am fortified in this derivation and identification by the definition given by Swami Vipulananda (late professor and head of the department of Tamil, Ceylon University, Colombo) for one of the parts of the ancient Tamil harp, Yāl (யாழ்), which was also called Unti whose function, according to him, was to push away the sound which reached it and thus cause reverberation. I give below his very words:

> "உந்தி என்னும் சொல் உந்து என்னும் வினையடியாகப் பிறந்ததென்பது 'சென்று வாங்கு உந்தி' என்பதனால் தெளிவாகின்றது. உந்தி என்னும் பெயர் கொப்பூழுக்கு உளதாதல் பற்றிக் கொப்பூழ் போன்ற வட்டவடிவமாகிய யாழ் பத்தற்றுளையினை உணர்த்திற்று எனக்கொண்ட மயிலை நாதருரை பொருந்தா உரையாதல் காண்கின்றோம்."

(p. 45. *Yāl Nūl* (Tamil) published by Karanthai Tamil Sangam.) May we not pause a while here, in asking ourselves incidentally as it were, whether it is merely a strange coincidence that a musical term extends its helping hand to rescue from oblivion what in reality is obviously a precious term in phonemic science? (I am indebted to Rao Sahib Pillai for drawing my attention to this reference and furnishing the extract.)

Tolkappiyar thus undoubtedly leads the way to modern biolinguistics and biophysical studies of human speech.

> "The primary physical impulse comes from the diaphragm or midriff, that dome shaped sheet of fibrous tissue which is the muscle of respiration. This tendinous partition separating thorax from abdomen turns its concave side downwards and it is fastened to the sternum or breast bone in front, to the lumbar vertibrae behind and to the cartilages of the lower six ribs on either side . . . As the outgoing breath stream is forced by diaphragmatic pressure upwards (உந்தி முதலா முந்துவளி தோன்றி as *Tolkappiyam* puts it) from the lungs through the bronchial

> tubes and the trachea or wind pipe into the mouth it may be checked or impeded in various ways,"[4]

so as to give us the speech sounds. This formed the subject of one of my Bonn University lectures concerned with process of speech. It is the exploitation of this breath movement by human ingenuity which has given us the spoken language and which has revolutionised the human kingdom and made it what it is today!

The Speech Structure

The upward breath (முந்துவளி) makes its appearance (தோன்றி) in the sphere of speech sequence, reaches the vocal organs (உறுப்புற்று) and attains formation (அமைய). The word அமைய is from the root அமை which means to form or make. All the other meanings assigned to this word are only its derivative meanings.

The organs reached are not mentioned here nor are the formations attained given. The interpolated lines describe these organs in detail, though wrongly, but leave off the formations. If the author mentioned the details of these organs he would have doubtless described the details of the formations too! This is not the place to furnish the details of any of them. This is only an introductory sūtra where these will be redundant and out of place. Tolkappiyar had recognised this. It is for the sūtras which follow — the text proper — to take up the thread and give the necessary details. This is how the interpolated lines do not fit into the pattern of the thought and plan of the author and betray their intrusion.

The structural formations observed are not haphazard events appearing in any manner but follow an orderly sequence. They fall into a regularity (நெறிப்பட) as stated by the author. What a deep insight Tolkappiyar has dis-

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[4] *Simeon Potter's Modern Linguistics*, Andre Deutsch, 1957, pp. 14-15.

played ! and how scientific have been his observations ! ! It is this fundamental law of regularity into which these formations fall which has made them amenable to scientific or mathematical treatment. It has been my life's ambition to take up these at the stage where Tolkappiyar left them and reduce them to mathematical formulae for the modern world. I have been attempting, in my humble way, to do this in all my work, including my lectures now at Bonn.

The knitting together of these short, telling words, தோன்றி, உற்று, அமைய, நெறிப்பட, in rapid succession, raises itself a mental picture of the rapid stream of speech-sequence ! One who follows the author closely cannot but feel the effect of the artistic rapidity and the logical sequence !

The author studies this speech structure. He studies its processes நாடி with an ardour and earnestness. The word நாடி means விரும்பி ஆராய்ந்து and denotes a research with ardour and earnestness which are the prime requisites for any scientific investigation (நாடிய பொருள் கை கூடும்-கம்பன்; எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் பொருளும் நாடி, பனம்பாரனர்-தொல். பாயிரம்). These basic factors of research, ardour and earnestness have taken the author to the depths of the intricate processes, and made his findings amazingly modern.

Analysis of the Speech Sequence

Now follows the next stage, எல்லா எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் காலை. All the phonemes are to be found, enumerated and described. The speech sequence has to be broken into the various sound-units of which it is composed and forms a synthetic structure. The primary speech-units which are obtained on analysing the speech-sequence are called phonemes in modern language. Phoneme is called எழுத்து Eluttu, in Tamil (from the root எழு to rise) which means that which arises or forms from the breath.

This analysis is by no means easy. Only those who have been actually at it can realise the difficulties involved. In the speech-stream some of the speech-units may get drowned, some may become merged with one another, some may get dissolved, lose their identity and appear durationless. The functional activities of the vocal organs may overlap. All these have to be observed minutely and then only all the phonemes which go to make up the speech-structure have to be fixed with precision, their number enumerated and arrived at correctly. The term சொல்லுங் காலை means and includes not only the number of these phonemes to be told off, எல்லா எழுத்தும், but their descriptions as well. Only the study of the compositions which go to make up each of the phonemes can help to identify, each from the other, as separate units and to count them out as all the phonemes, எல்லா எழுத்தும், that constitute the speech-structure.

A clear and unerring perception of all these is therefore necessary. This perception has therefore to be திறப் படத் தெரியும் காட்சி - காட்சி means perception. திறப்படத் தெரியும் காட்சி therefore means a perception in which all the minute parts of the intricate structure will get analysed (திறப்பட) and will be seen clearly (தெரியும்). Nothing but a sure perception as this, will yield observational knowledge to form the basis of any science. Such a perception as this is vital especially when the subject dealt with is '*Sound*' which is not easily amenable to analysis as other material objects are! Tolkappiyar obtained this rare and vital perception which is the *sine qua non* of phonemic science and by that perception, திறப்படத் தெரியும் காட்சியான், he proceeds to describe the phonemes.

It is to emphasise the importance of this perception the clause which deals with it — திறப்படத் தெரியும் காட்சியான் — has been so purposefully fixed at the end of the sūtra to leave a lasting impression upon the mind of the reader while studying the sūtra, untrammelled by the

other thoughts which precede. Taking the important thought in a stanza to the end has been the *modus operandi* in ancient classics and has been the practice of the great poets of the Sangam age. It may also be noted that by the position which this clause occupies, it governs grammatically both the analysis of speech-structure எல்லா எழுத்தும் சொல்லுங் காலை and பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் the composition of speech-unit which follows it.

PHONEMIC STRUCTURE

The word *திறம்* means here கூறுபாடு i.e., the component elements or the constituent parts. (நிற்றிறம் சிறக்க. புறம். 6). Each of the phonemes has its own component parts and these component elements may broadly be divided as acoustic and articulatory. The famous French scientist De Saussure aptly describes this :

> "The delimitation of the sounds of a speech sequence can be based only on the acoustical impression ; but, as far as the description of sounds is concerned, it is different. It is recognised to be built only on the basis of the articulatory act ; because the acoustic units taken in their proper succession are unanalysable. One must take recourse to the succession of the movements of phonation ; it is then observed that to the same sound corresponds the same act : b (acoustic time) = b′ (articulatory time).
>
> "The primary units which are obtained on dividing the speech sequence will be composed of b and b′ ; they are called *Phonemes* ; the phoneme is the sum of the acoustic impressions and the articulatory movements, the heard unit and the spoken unit, the one conditioning the other : thus it is already a complex unit, having a hold in each speech sequence." [5]

[5] *Rulon S. Wells, De Saussure's System of Linguistics*, Word, Vol. 3, 1947, p. 2. Translation of the portion quoted was made by Dr. P. C. Ganesh Sundaram, Reader in Experimental Phonetics, Annamalai University (Cf. *Phonemics of Old Tamil*, p. 37 foot note 100).

The acoustical impression is that by which we judge the form of the sound-units, their individual existence each separate from the other, in time and space and the articulatory movement includes the movement of the breath, the physical impulse, the muscular actions of the breath-group and the functional status of the vocal organs to bring the sound-units into existence. Each phoneme is thus composed of articulatory element and acoustic element, one conditioning the other as De Saussure puts it. It will be seen from the text which follows that Tolkappiyar classifies the acoustic forms of the sound as well as the corresponding articulatory movements of the vocal organs, combining into various groups into which they naturally fall. Tolkappiyar by an analytical perception திறப்படத் தெரியும் காட்சியான் not only fixes the number of phonemes which are found in the speech-structure correctly but also finds that their பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம், their formative compositions — acoustic and articulatory — are of varied and different characteristics, வேறு வேறு இயல. The sūtras which follow illustrate and demonstrate them.

In its pristine simplicity, the sūtra flows, தோன்றி, உற்று, அமைய, நெறிப்பட (இவற்றை) நாடி, திறப்படத் தெரியும் காட்சியான், எல்லா எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் காலை (அவைதம்) பிறப் பின் ஆக்கம் வேறு வேறு இயல and carries with it its own grandeur. The apparent transparency deludes the eye, conceals the depth and often frustrates the search! A more appropriate introduction embracing all the aspects of the subject dealt with in the chapter cannot be thought of, it is obvious.

It is here worth while to take note of the luminous phrase which Tolkappiyar has coined as பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம். The word பிறப்பு means coming into existence and ஆக்கம் means growth, composition or development. (cf. கிளவி யாக்கம், பொருளாக்கம்). There are thus two elements in this term, ஆக்கம் and பிறப்பு. The composition of articulatory-unit and acoustic-unit into one is ஆக்கம் and

this composition bringing into existence a new entity, the phoneme, is பிறப்பு.

That Tolkappiyar used பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் exactly to mean these will be proved by the fact that he calls the formation or composition of words, their growth and multiplication as கிளவியாக்கம் (It should be noted that no பிறப்பு is added in that context.) The various factors which go to make up the word-formations, their growth and multiplication are merely stringed together to a stem as in a bead, as it were, where each is piled quite close to the other to form a developed structure. No new entity is born here. This formative process is far different in the case of a phoneme. Two different units, the acoustic unit and the articulatory unit, combine into one to give birth to a new entity the phoneme or எழுத்து. This is therefore described as பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் and not as எழுத்தின் ஆக்கம் —as in the case of கிளவியாக்கம் —not even as எழுத்தின் பிறப்பு but distinctly as பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் i.e., பிறப்பு and ஆக்கம் combined.

The grammarians and commentators who succeeded Tolkappiyar converted this highly scientific term பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் into பிறப்பிடம் the place of birth ! I have shown in my monograph how places of birth and even places of articulation are scientifically inaccurate and Tolkappiyar nowhere uses such an inaccurate term.[6]

G. Oscar Russel, the great pioneer, by bringing X-Ray to the service of phonetic science, fixed with accuracy and demonstrated the forms and sizes of human speech cavities as also the position and relative relationship of the various physiological organs which actually appear when producing certain speaking resultants; the connected movements of muscles regulating the vocal cavity are not and never can be still for an instant.[7]

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6 Page 13 of Ref. No. 1.

7 *Speech and Voice* by G. OSCAR RUSSEL, New York, Macmillan & Co., 1931 p. 4.
cf., also *Phonemics of Old Tamil*, page 13, foot notes 23 and 24.

The demonstration of the fallacy of the "places of articulation" relied upon by the earlier phoneticians now confirms the valid usage of the 'analytic-synthetic' term of Tolkappiyar பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் being scientifically precise.

It is marvellous that this ancient tiny phrase, பிறப்பின் ஆக்கம் is thus replete with the results of modern scientific investigations. It thrills one to think of the wealth of analytic perception, the depth of scientific knowledge and the 'logical positivism' which have gone into the core of this puny phrase, as it were. How this author, in those ancient times, without resorting to modern precision apparatus and rigorous mathematics, was still able to perceive the vital truths of an abstruse and intricate science, it staggers the human brain to conceive of.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியமா?

வை. கா. சிவப்பிரகாசம்

இறவாத புகழ்படைத்த இன்பத்தமிழ் இலக்கியங்கள் பல. அவற்றுள் ஒன்று சேரன் தம்பியார் இளங்கோ இசைத்த சிலப்பதிகாரம். நவில்தொறும் நூல் நயம் நல்கும் சிலப்பதிகாரம் தலையாய செந்தமிழ்க் காப்பியமாகப் போற்றப்படும் பெருமை பெற்றுள்ளது. பன்னூறு ஆண்டுகளாகக் கன்னற்சுவைக் களஞ்சியமாய்த் திகழ்ந்து வரும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தைப் பாரதியார் முப்பேரிலக்கியங்களுள் ஒன்ருகப் போற்றி மதிப்பிடுகிருர்; அவ்வாறே இளங்கோ அடிகளையும் முப்பேரிலக்கிய ஆசிரியர்களுள் ஒருவராகக் கருதுகிருர்.

> " வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக் கேதந்து
> வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு—நெஞ்சை
> அள்ளும் சிலப்பதி காரமென் ருேர்மணி
> யாரம் படைத்த தமிழ்நாடு."

எனவும்,

> " யாமறிந்த புலவரிலே கம்பனைப்போல்
> வள்ளுவர்போல் இளங்கோ வைப்போல்
> பூமிதனில் யாங்கணுமே பிறந்ததில்லை;
> உண்மை;வெறும் புகழ்ச்சி யில்லை."

எனவும் பாரதியார் கூறியவை என்றும் தமிழர் சிந்தையை விட்டகலா. சிலப்பதிகாரம் எவ்வகை இலக்கியம் என்பது பற்றிப் பல்வேறு கருத்துக்கள் தமிழகத்தில் நிலவி வருகின்றன. தொல்காப்பிய நெறி, வடமொழி நெறி, ஐரோப்பிய நெறி மூன்றற்கு இயையவும் சிலப்பதிகாரம் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது. தொல்காப்பியத்தை நுண்ணிதின் ஆய்ந்த உரையாசிரியர் நச்சினுர்க்கினியர், சிலப்பதிகாரம் 'தொன்மை' என்னும் வகையைச் சார்ந்தது என்கிருர். (தொல். பொருள். செய். உரை) சிலப்பதிகாரத்தின் உரைப்பாயிரம், 'இயலிசை நாடகப் பொருட்டொடர்நிலைச் செய்யுள்' எனவும், 'நாடகக் காப்பியம்' எனவும், 'தோல்' எனவும் அதனைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறது; நூலின் பதிகம் 'உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுள்' என்று உரைக்கிறது. காப்பிய இலக்கண அமைதிக்கேற்பச் சிலப்பதிகாரம் பெருங்காப்பியமென்பர். ஐம்பெருங்காப்பியங்களுள்

ஒன்றுகவும் சிலப்பதிகாரம் போற்றப்படுகிறது. பெருங்காப்பிய இலக்கண அமைதி சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் இல்லை என்று கருதுவாரு முளர். மேனுட்டு இலக்கிய ஆராய்ச்சியில் ஈடுபாடுடைய அறிஞர் சிலர், புதிய கோணத்திலிருந்து சிலப்பதிகாரத்தை ஆராய்ந்துள்ள னர். வரலாற்றுக் காப்பியமெனவும், ஒற்றுமைக் காப்பியமென வும், கலைக் காப்பியமெனவும், குடிமக்கள் காப்பியமெனவும் இன்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் சிறப்பிக்கப்படுகின்றது. இவ்வாறு சிலப்பதிகாரம் பலவாறு ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவற்றுள் சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடிமக்கள் காப்பியம் என்னும் கொள்கையை ஆராய்வாம் :

தமிழிற்றேன்றிய முதற்காப்பியம் சிலப்பதிகாரம். மற்றைய பல தமிழ்க் காப்பியங்கள் போலச் சிலப்பதிகாரம் முடி மக்கள் காப்பியமாய் அமையவில்லை. சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் சேரன் செங்குட்டு வன் சொல்லோவியமாகக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றுன்; சோழன் கரிகாலன் (?) தோன்றுகிறுன்; பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் பவனி வருகிறுன். எனினும், அவர்கள் கதைத்தலைவர்கள் அல்லர். எனவே, சிலப்பதிகாரம் முடி மக்கள் காப்பியம் அன்று.

சிலப்பதிகார்ரத்தின் கதைத் தலைவன் கோவலன்; கதைத்தலைவி கண்ணகி. அவர்கள் அரச குலத்தினர் அல்லர். அவ்வாறே மற் ெறுரு சிறந்த பாத்திரமான மாதவியும் அரச குலத்தினள் அல்லள். இவர்கள் மன்னனுல் ஆளப்படும் குடிகள்—மக்கள்–குடி மக்கள். அதனுல், சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடிமக்கள் காப்பியம் என்ெறுரு கொள்கை நிலவி வருகிறது.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியம் என்ற கொள்கையைப் போற்றுவோர் பிறிதொரு சிக்கலையும் இதனேடு பிணைத்து ஆராய்ந் துள்ளனர். 'முதலாளி இலக்கியமும் முடி மக்கள் இலக்கியமு மன்றிக் குடி மக்கள் இலக்கியமென யாதாயினும் தமிழிலுண்டா?' என்ற வினவையும் ஆராய்ந்துள்ளனர். வேட்டுவவரி, வேடர்களின் வாழ்க்கை, போராட்டம், வழிபாடு ஆகியவற்றை விளக்குகிறது. ஆய்ச்சியர குரவை, இடையர்களின் வாழ்வு, இன்பதுன்பம் முதலிய வற்றை உரைக்கிறது. குன்றக்குரவை, குறவர் வாழ்வு, வளன், எண்ணம் என்பவற்றைக் கூறுகிறது. இவ்வாறு பாட்டாளிகளை இளங்கோவடிகள் போற்றிப்பாடுதலால் சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியம் என்ற கொள்கை வலியுறுத்தப்படுகிறது. அதன் பயனுக ஈண்டுக் குறித்த சிக்கலும் விடுவிக்கப்படுகிறது.

முதலாளி தொழிலாளி என்ற பாகுபாட்டுணர்ச்சி இருபதாம் நூற்ருண்டின் தொடக்கத்தில் இரஷ்யநாட்டில் வெடித்த புரட்சியின்

பின்னரே உலகிற்பரவியது. பணம் படைத்தோர் உழைப்பாள ரைச் சுரண்டி உறிஞ்சி இன்ப வாழ்வு நடத்தும் இழிதகவுக்கு இரஷ்யப் புரட்சி சாவுமணி அடித்தது. இப்புரட்சியின் விளைவாக இலக்கியத்தையும் இக்கண்ணோட்டத்துடன் ஆராயும் போக்கு இலக் கியத்திறனாய்வாளர்பால் செல்வாக்குப் பெற்றது. அதனால், இலக்கி யத்தை முடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது முடியரசு இலக்கியம், மேன்மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது முதலாளி இலக்கியம், குடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது பாட்டாளி இலக்கியம் என்று பாகுபாடு செய்து ஆயும் ஆராய்ச்சி புரட்சிப் போக்குப் படைத்த இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வாளர்பால் குடிகொண்டது. வேந்தர்களின் வாழ்க்கை, போராட்டம், வெற்றி மேம்பாடு என்று இனையவற்றை விளம்பும் இலக்கியம் முடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது முடியரசு இலக்கியம் எனப்படும்.

மேல்மக்கள், பிரபுக்கள், முதலாளிகள் என்போர் வாழ்க்கை, இன்பதுன்பங்கள், புகழ் போன்றவற்றை விளக்கும் இலக்கியம் மேன்மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது முதலாளி இலக்கியம் எனப் படும். செல்வர்களின் சுரண்டல், இரக்கமற்ற கொடுமை, ஏமாற்று வித்தை, பிறன் உழைப்பில் வாழ்தல் என்பன முதலாளி இலக்கி யத்தின் உயிர் நாடியான அமிசங்களாகும்.

பாடு பட்டு உழைக்கும் பாட்டாளிகள், சமுதாயத்தில் சுரண் டப்பட்டோர், வஞ்சிக்கப்பட்ட வறியோர் என்போர் வாழ்க்கை, துன்பம், போராட்டம் முதலியவற்றைப் படம் பிடிக்கும் இலக்கியம் குடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் அல்லது பாட்டாளி இலக்கியமெனப்படும். உழைப்பின் பெருமை, முதலாளியை முறியடிக்கும் போராட்டம், தொழில் மேம்பாடு, சமுதாய முன்னேற்றம் என்பன பாட்டாளி இலக்கியத்தில் இன்றியமையாத அமிசங்களாகும்.

இலக்கியம் காலத்தால் படைக்கப்படுவது; இடத்தால் வளம் பெறுவது; மனித சிந்தையால் மாண்புறுவது; சமுதாயத்தால் செழித்தோங்குவது. முடியரசுக் காலத்தில் முடியரசு இலக்கியம் யாக்கப்படும். கோனாட்சி போற்றப்படும் நாட்டில் தோன்றும் இலக்கியம் முடியரசுக் கொள்கையை ஓம்பும். முடியாட்சிக் கொள் கையில் மூழ்கிய மனித சிந்தனையிலிருந்து முடிமக்கள் இலக்கியம் முகிழ்த்து மாண்புபெறும். சமுதாயத்தில் முடியாட்சிக் கொள்கை வேரூன்றி இருப்பின், முடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் செழித்தோங்கும். இது பொது விதி. குடியரசுக் காலத்திற்கும் இவ்வுண்மை பொருந் தும். முடியரசுக் காலத்தில் குடி மக்கள் இலக்கியமும் குடியரசுக்

காலத்தில் முடி மக்கள் இலக்கியமும் தோன்றிச் சிறக்கும் என எதிர்பார்த்தல் ஆகாது. ஆனல், இப்பொதுமை நெறிக்கு மாருக வும் இலக்கியம் எழலாம்.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் முடியரசுக் காலத்தில் முகிழ்த்தது; முடியாட்சி நிலை பெற்றிருந்த தமிழகத்தில் தழைத்தது; முடியாட்சிக் கொள் கையில் மூழ்கிய இளங்கோ அடிகளின் சிந்தனைச் சிறப்பால் மலர்ந்தது; முடியாட்சியில் திளைத்த தமிழ்ச் சமுதாயத்தில் பூத்துக் கனிந்தது. வேழம் மலிந்த சேரநாட்டை வஞ்சியிலிருந்து செங் குட்டுவன் செங்கோலோச்சினன். கலை வளம் படைத்த சோழ நாட்டைக் கரிகால் வளவன் புகாரிலிருந்து பாதுகாத்தான். தமிழ் நிலை பெற்ற பாண்டி நாட்டைப் பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் மதுரையிலிருந்து ஆண்டான்.

எனவே, முடியரசுக் காலத்தில் முடியாட்சித் தமிழகத்தில் முடி சூடா மன்னர் இளங்கோவால் இயற்றப்பட்ட முத்தமிழ்க் காப்பியம் சிலப்பதிகாரம் ஆகும்.

சிலப்பதிகாரத் தமிழகத்தில் முடியாட்சி சிறந்து விளங்கின தாயினும், அம்முடியாட்சி உலகில் ஏனைய பாகங்களில் நிலவிய முடியாட்சியின் வேறுபட்டது. குடி நலன் ஓம்பல், மக்கள் எண் ணத்திற்கு மதிப்புக் கொடுத்தல், அன்பரசு செலுத்தல், அறம் வளர்த்தல் என்றினைய விழுமிய கொள்கைகள் தமிழ் முடியரசின் அடித்தளமாய் அமைந்தன.

"கோள்வல் உளியமும் கொடும்புற் றகழா;
வாள்வரி வேங்கையும் மான்கணம் மறலா;
அரவுஞ் சூரும் இரைதேர் முதலையும்
உருமுஞ் சார்ந்தவர்க் குறுகண் செய்யா;
செங்கோல் தென்னவர் காக்கும் நாடென
எங்கணும் போகிய இசையோ பெரிதே!"

(*புறஞ்சேரி இறுத்தகாதை : 5-10*)

எனவும்,

"குடிபுர வுண்டுங் கொடுங்கோ லஞ்சி
மன்பதை காக்கும் நன்குடிப் பிறத்தல்
துன்ப மல்லது தொழுதக வில்." (*காட்சிக் காதை : 102-104*)

எனவும்,

"செம்மையின் இகந்தசொற் செவிப்புலம் படாமுன்
உயிர்பதிப் பெயர்ந்தமை உறுக ஈங்கென"
(காட்சிக் காதை : 96-97)

எனவும்,

"அடிதொழு திறைஞ்சா மன்ன ரல்லது
குடிபழி தூற்றும் கோலனும் அல்லன்"
(கட்டுரை காதை : 33-34)

எனவும் இவ்வாறு வரும் பகுதிகள் தமிழ் முடியரசின் தன்மையைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்றன.

முடியரசுத் தமிழகத்தில் சிலப்பதிகாரம் இயற்றப்பட்டதாயினும், முடி மக்கள் காப்பியமாக அது விளங்கவில்லை. காலம், இடம், சமுதாயம் இவற்றின் போக்கிற்கு ஒருவாறு மாறுபட்டதாகவே சிலப்பதிகாரம் அமைந்துள்ளது. இது செந்தமிழ்க் கவிஞர் இளங்கோ செய்த புரட்சி.

சிலப்பதிகாரத்தின் கதைத் தலைவன் கோவலன்; கதைத் தலைவி கண்ணகி. இருவரும் வணிக குலத்தினர். இவர்கள் மன்னனாட்சிக்கு உட்பட்ட மக்கள் என்ற முறையில் சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியம் என்ற கொள்கையை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளலாம். முதலாளி வர்க்கத்தினராக இவர்கள் விளங்கலாம் ; பாட்டாளி இலக்கியம் என்ற பொருளில் சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் இலக்கியம் என்னும் கொள்கையை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளலாமா என்பது ஆராய்தற்பாலது.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியம் என்னும் கொள்கையினர் ஆளப்படுவோர் தொழிலாளர் என்ற இரு பொருளிலும் 'குடி மக்கள்' என்னும் தொடரை வழங்குவர். 'தொழிலாளர்' என்னும் பொருள் இக்கால வழக்கு. சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் குடிகள், தொழிலாளர் என்ற சொல்லாட்சி இருப்பினும் தொழிலாளர் அல்லது பாட்டாளிகள் என்ற பொருளில் 'குடிகள், குடி மக்கள்' என்னும் சொற்கள் ஆளப்படவில்லை. சாதி, குலம் என்ற பொருளிலேயே குடி என்ற சொல் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் ஆளப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின் வருவன சான்றுகளாகும் :

"ஒருதனிக் குடிகளொ டுயர்ந்தோங்கு செல்வத்தான்"
(மங்கலவாழ்த்துப் பாடல் : 32)

"ஏசாச் சிறப்பின் இசைவிளங்கு பெருங்குடி"
(வழக்குரை காதை : 57)

"செவ்வி பார்க்கும் செழுங்குடிச் செல்வரொடு"
(ஊர் காண் காதை - 144)

" வீயாத் திருவின் விழுக்குடிப் பிறந்த தாய வேந்தர் "
(கட்டுரை காதை : 143-144)

" மன்பதை காக்கும் நன்குடிப் பிறத்தல் "
(காட்சிக் காதை : 108)

" ....எங்குடிப் பிறந்தோர்க்குச்
சிறப்பொடு வரூஉஞ் செய்கையோ அன்று."
(காட்சிக் காதை : 124-125)

ஆளப்படுவோர் என்ற பொருளிலும் குடிகள் என்னும் சொல் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் ஆளப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின் வருவன சான்று பகருகின்றன.

" கொடுங்கோல் வேந்தன் குடிகள் போல "
(புறஞ்சேரியிறுத்த காதை : 15)

" மன்பழி தூற்றும் குடியதே மாமதுரை " (ஊர் சூழ்வரி : 28)

" குடிபழி தூற்றும் கோலனும் அல்லன் " (கட்டுரை காதை: 34)

" குடிநடுக் குறூஉம் கோலே னுகென " (கால்கோட்காதை : 18)

" குடிபுறந் தருங்கால் திருமுகம் போல " (நடுகற்காதை : 38)

" குடிபுற வுண்டும் கொடுங்கோலஞ்சி " (காட்சிக் காதை : 102)

' தொழிலாளர் ' என்ற சொல்,

" கோத்தொழி லாளரொடு கொற்றவன் கோடி "
(காடு காண் காதை : 60)

என்ற இடத்து ஆளப்பட்டிருப்பினும் முதலாளி தொழிலாளி வேற்றுமையுணர்ச்சி அச்சொற்பொருளில் ஒலிக்கவில்லை. இக்காலக் கொள்கைகள், இக்காலப் பொருளிலுள்ள இக்காலச் சொற்கள் இவற்றின் துணை கொண்டு அக்கால இலக்கியங்களை ஆராய்ச்சி செய்தலில் உள்ள இடர்ப்பாடுகள் ஒருவாறு புலனாகும். அதனால் அத்தகைய ஆராய்ச்சி பயன் தருமா என்ற ஐயமும் முளைக்கிறது.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் செல்வர்களின் வாழ்க்கையை இயம்புகிறது. எனவே, அதனைக் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியமெனலாமா என்னும் ஐயம் தோன்றுகிறது. முதலாளி இலக்கியம் அல்லது மேன்மக்கள் இலக்கியம் என்று அதனைக் கூறவும் உள்ளம் தூண்டுகிறது.

கோவலன் கண்ணகி இருவரும் செல்வக் குடியினர். கண்ணகியின் செல்வவாழ்வின் வளனையும் அவள் பெற்றோர்

செல்வமேம்பாட்டையும் இளங்கோ அடிகள்,

“நாகநீள் நகரொடு நாகநா டதனொடு
போகநீள் புகழ்மன்னும் புகார்நக ரதுதன்னில்
மாகவான் நிகர்வண்கை மாநாய்கன் குலக்கொம்பர்
ஈகைவான் கொடியன்னாள் ஈராறுண் டகவையாள்”

(மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல் : 21-24)

என்று சுவை நலம் மிளிரப் பாடுகிறார்.

செல்வருக்குள் பெருஞ்செல்வனாய், முதலாளிகளுக்குள் பெரு முதலாளியாய்க் கோவலன் தந்தை விளங்கினான். பணக்காரருள் ராக்பெல்லர், போர்டு என்பார் எவ்வாறு முதன்மை வாய்ந்தவராகக் கருதப்படும் புகழ்பெற்றனரோ, அவ்வாறே மாசாத்துவானும் பெரும் புகழ் படைத்தான். அவனை இருநிதிக் கிழவனும் குபேரனென்று இளங்கோ அடிகள் அக்கால மரபிற்கு ஏற்பப் பாராட்டுகிறார்.

“பெருநில முழுதாளும் பெருமகன் தலைவைத்த
ஒருதனிக் குடிகளொ டுயர்ந்தோங்கு செல்வத்தான்
வருநிதி பிறர்க்கார்த்து மாசாத்து வானென்பான்
இருநிதிக் கிழவன்மகன் ஈரெட்டாண் டகவையான்.”

(மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல் : 31-34)

என்று இளங்கோ கோவலனை நமக்கு அறிமுகம் செய்கிறார்.

கோவலன் கண்ணகி திருமணம், செல்வர்களின் பெருமை, பொருட்சிறப்பு விளங்க நடைபெற்றதாக மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல் விரித்து உரைக்கிறது. அரசன் உலாச் செல்லுங்கால் திகழும் செல்வமிடுக்கு அனைத்தும் நம் கண் முன் காட்டுகிறார் செம்புலச் செல்வர் இளங்கோ அடிகள்.

“முரசியம்பின முருடதிர்ந்தன முறையெழுந்தன
பணிலம்—வெண்குடை
அரசெழுந்ததோர் படியெழுந்தன.”

(மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடல் : 46-47)

கோவலன் கண்ணகி தனிக் குடும்ப வாழ்க்கையை விளக்கும் இளங்கோ அடிகள், அவர்கள் செல்வவாழ்வு வாழ்ந்தார்கள் என்பதைக் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். ஏழை மக்கள், நடுத்தர வகுப்பினர் வாழும் சேரியிலோ, நகர்ப்பகுதியிலோ, அவர்களை இளங்கோ நமக்குக் காட்டவில்லை; பணம் படைத்தோர் வாழும் இடம் என்பதை உறுதிப்படுத்த, அவர்களைக் குடிசையில் காட்டாமல், நிரை நிலை மாடத்தின் அரமியத்தில் மயன் விதித்தன்ன மணிக்கால் அமளி மிசைக் காட்டுகிறார். செல்வத்திலே அவர்கள் திளைத்த பெற்றியை

" விருந்து புறந்தரூஉம் பெருந்தண் வாழ்க்கையும்
வேறுபடு திருவின் வீறுபெறக் காண
உரிமைச் சுற்றமொ டொருதனி புணர்க்க
யாண்டுசில கழிந்தன இற்பெருங் கிழமையிற்
காண் டகு சிறப்பிற் கண்ணகி தனக்கென் "

(மனையறம் படுத்த காதை : 86-90)

என்று கூறுகிறார்.

பணக்காரக் குடும்ப இளைஞர்களைப் போலக் கோவலனையும் காமவேட்கையுடையவனாக இளங்கோ படைக்கிறார். மாதவியின் பரிசு மாலையை ஆயிரத்தெட்டுக் கழஞ்சுக்கு வாங்கும் கோவலன் செல்வச் செருக்கையும், ஒழுக்கக் குறைவையும், துரோகச் செயலையும் அரங்கேற்று காதையில் காண முடிகிறது. அவன் காம வேட்கையின் ஆழத்தை,

" விடுதல் அறியா விருப்பினன் ஆயினன்
வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின்தன் மனையகம் மறந்தென்."

(அரங்கேற்று காதை : 174-175)

என்று இளங்கோ கூறுகிறார்.

ஒழுக்க உறுதிப்பாடற்ற பணக்கார இளைஞர்க்குத் தூர்த்தர் நட்பு விரைவில் வாய்த்தல் இயல்பு. செல்வ இளைஞன் கோவலனுக்கும் தீயோர் நட்பு வாய்த்தது. பாணராகவும் பரத்தராகவும் அத்தீயோர் விளங்கினர் என்பதை,

" குரல்வாய்ப் பாணரொடு நகரப் பரத்தரொடு
திரிதரு மரபிற் கோவலன் போல
இளிவாய் வண்டினொ டின்னிள வேனிலொடு
மலய மாருதம் திரிதரு மறுகில் "

(இந்திர விழவூரெடுத்த காதை : 200-203)

என்று இளங்கோ அழகு நலம் தோன்றக் கூறுகிறார்.

பணக்காரர் வாழ்வில் வேலையாட்கள் இடம்பெறுவார்கள். செல்வ இளைஞனை கோவலனும் ஏவலாட்கள் புடை சூழ எங்கும் திரிந்தான். மாதவியை விட்டுப் பிரியும் பொழுதும் அவன் ஏவலாளர் சூழச் சென்றதாகக் காட்டுகிறார்.

" ஏவலாள ருடன்சூழ்தரக் கோவலன்தான் போனபின்னர் "

(கானல் வரி)

மாதவியுடன் வாழ்ந்த போதும் கணிகையர் பலர் ஏவலாளராய் இருந்தனர்.

செல்வக் குடிப் பிறந்த நங்கை கண்ணகிக்கு ஏவல் செய்யக் காத்திருந்தோர் பலர். செல்வச் செழுமையால் அவளுக்கு வாய்த்த தோழியர் பலர். குடிமுதற்சுற்றமும் குற்றிளையோரும் அடியோர் பாங்கும் ஆயமும் அவளுக்கு, அவள் செல்வச் செழிப்பிற்கு, அடி பணிந்து பணியாற்றப் பின்னடையவில்லை. மாதவியைப் பிரிந்து வரும் கோவலன் வரவை,

"காவலன் போலும் கடைத்தலையான் வந்துநம்
கோவலன் என்றுளோர் குற்றிளையாள்"

(*கனாத்திறமுரைத்த காதை : 65-66*)

என்றே இளங்கோ கூறுகிறார்.

பணக்காரர் கார், விமானம் போன்ற ஊர்திகளில் இவர்ந்து செல்லுதலையும்; உல்லாசப் பிரயாணங்கள், இன்பப் பொழுது போக்குகளில் நலம் துய்த்தலையும் முதலாளி இலக்கியம் எடுத்தியம்புதல் உண்டு. இளங்கோ அடிகளும், கோவலனும் மாதவியும் அக்கால ஊர்திகளாகிய அத்திரி, வையம் இவற்றில் இவர்ந்து சென்ற இந்திர விழாவில் நடைபெற்ற கலை நிகழ்ச்சிகளைக் கண்டு இன்பந்துய்த்துக் கடல் நீராட்டிலும் திளைத்ததாகக் கூறுகிறார். கடற்கரையில்,

"புன்னை நீழற் புதுமணற் பரப்பில்
ஓவிய எழினி சூழவுடன் போக்கி
விதானித்துப் படுத்த வெண்கால் அமளிமிசை'

(*கடலாடு காதை : 168-170*)

இருந்து இன்னிசை இன்பம் மாந்தினர் என்று கூறுங்காலும் அவர்கள் செல்வச் செருக்கையே இளங்கோ காட்டுகிறார்.

பணக்கார இளைஞரின் காமவேட்கை அவர்களின் செல்வத்தை அழித்து வளமான வாழ்விற்கு முற்றுப்புள்ளியிட்டுவிடுவதாக முதலாளி இலக்கியம் கூறும். அவ்வாறே சிலப்பதிகாரமும் கோவலனுடைய காமவேட்கை அவன் குபேர செல்வத்தைக் கரைத்துக் குடித்து ஏப்பம் விட்டதாகக் கூறுகிறது. அவன் வான் தோய் வாழ்வு சரிந்ததும் ஏவலாளர் தொண்டு, அத்திரி, வையம், செல்வச் செருக்கு யாவும் அவனுக்குப் பிரிவுரை கூறின.

"சலம்புணர் கொள்கைச் சலதியொ டாடிக்
குலந்தரு வான்பொருட் குன்றம் தொலைத்த
இலம்பாடு நாணுத் தருமெனக்கு!"

(*கனாத்திறமுரைத்த காதை : 69-71*)

என்று தளர்ந்து இடிந்து கண்ணகிக்குக் கோவலன் கூறி வருந்தியதாக இளங்கோ குறிப்பிடுகிறுர். அதன்பின் ஏவலாள ரின்றி, அத்திரி, வையம் இவற்றில் இவர்ந்து செல்லப் பொரு ளின்றிக் கண்ணகியை அழைத்து இரவோடு இரவாக மதுரைக்குப் புறப்பட்டதாக இளங்கோ கூறுகிறுர். கால்களில் கொப்புளங்கள் பெருகி நோவக் கண்ணகி ஏழை வீட்டுப் பெண் போல நெடுந் தொலைவு நடந்ததாகவும் கதை செல்கிறது.

"குடி முதற் சுற்றமும் குற்றிளை யோரும்
அடியோர் பாங்கும் ஆயமும் நீங்கி
நாணமும் மடனும் நல்லோர் ஏத்தும்
பேணிய கற்பும் பெருந்துணை யாக
என்னெடு போந்து" (கொலைக்களக் காதை : 84-88)

என்று கூறிக் கோவலன் வருந்தியதாக இளங்கோ காட்டு கிறுர். செல்வத்திலே பிறந்து, செல்வத்திலே திளைத்து, இளமை விளையாட்டுக்களால் குலந்தரு வான்பொருட்குன்றம் தொலைய வறுமையில் வாடி வதங்க நேரிட்டதே என்ற கோவலனின் குமுறலை இளங்கோ அழகு நலம் தோயத் தீட்டியுள்ளார்.

பின் வறுமையின் பிடியை விடுவிக்கக் கோவலன் முயன்ற தாகவும், கண்ணகியின் காற்சிலம்பை விற்கக் கோவலன் மதுரை சென்றதாகவும், விதியின் சதியாற் பொற்கொல்லன் சூழ்ச்சியால் கோவலன் கொல்லப்பட்டதாகவும் இளங்கோ கூறுகிறுர்.

இவ்வாறு செல்வக் குடும்பத்தில் பிறந்த இருவர் திருமணம், அன்னுர் செல்வச் சிறப்பு, அவர்கள் வாழ்க்கையில் பரத்தை யொருத்தியின் தலையீடு, காம ஈடுபாட்டால் செல்வம் கரைதல், வறுமையின் பிடி, வறுமை மீட்சிப் போராட்டம், விதியின் சதி என்ற இவற்றைக் கூறலால் சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலாளி இலக்கியம் அல்லது மேன்மக்கள் இலக்கியம் என்ற எண்ணம் உள்ளத்தில் நிழலாடுகிறது.

வேடர், இடையர், குறவர், உழவர் முதலிய உழைப்பாளிகளின் வாழ்க்கை இடையிடையே கோவலன் கண்ணகி கதையோடு பின்னப்படுகிறது. வேட்டுவ வரியில் வேடர் வாழ்க்கை, அவர்கள் ஆடல், பாடல், வழிபாடு என்பன கூறப்படுகின்றன. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவையில் இடையர் வாழ்க்கை படம் பிடிக்கப்படுகிறது. குன்றக்குரவை காட்சிக் காதைகளில் குறவர் வாழ்வு காட்டப்படு கிறது. உழவர் வாழ்வு, வயல் வளம், அவர்கள் உழைப்பு என்பன நாடு காண் காதையில் விரிவாகக் கூறப்படுகின்றன. நால்வகை

நில மக்கள் வாழ்வு நீர்ப்படைக் காதையில் அழகுக் கோவையாகக் காட்சியளிக்கின்றது. பொதுமக்கள் வாழ்வும் எண்ணமும் ஊர் காண் காதை, ஊர்சூழ் வரி, அழற்படுகாதைகளிலும், பிற காதை களில் ஆங்காங்குச் சிற்சில பகுதிகளிலும் காட்சியளிக்கின்றன. இவ்வாறு ஏழைகள், தொழிலாளர், குடி மக்கள் ஆகியோர் வாழ்வு, எண்ணம், இன்பதுன்பங்கள் யாவும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் எழில் மிக்க பின்னணியில் காட்சியளிப்பினும், வேடர் முதலிய பாட்டாளி களின் வாழ்க்கையைக் கூறல் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தின் கருவாக அமைய வில்லை. கோவலன் கண்ணகி இருவரின் வாழ்க்கைப் போராட்டமே கதையின் கருவாதலால் சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலாளி இலக்கியம் என்ற எண்ணம் மறையவில்லை.

செல்வக் குடிப் பிறப்பு, செல்வவாழ்வு, ஒழுக்கக் குறைவு என் பன கோவலன்பால் காணப்பட்டாலும், முதலாளிகட்கு இருக்க வேண்டிய இரக்கமற்ற கொடுமை, ஏமாற்று வித்தை, பிறன் உழைப்பை உறிஞ்சுதல் ஆகிய அமிசங்கள் அவனிடம் இல்லை. ஆனல், உண்மைத் தொழிலாளியிடம் காணப்பட வேண்டிய பிறன் துன்பம் நீக்கல், தன்னம்பிக்கை, உழைப்பின் மேன்மையை யுணர்தல் ஆகிய பண்புகள் கோவலனிடம் குடி கொண்டன.

மதம் பிடித்த களிறு மறையோனைப் பற்றிய போது அதனை அடக்கி அவனை மீட்டான் கோவலன். பிறர் துன்பம் உணரா இரக்கமற்ற அரக்க உள்ளம் படைத்த முதலாளியாகக் கோவலன் இருந்திருப்பின், மறையவனை மீட்டிருப்பானு ? அடிமைகள் அரி யேறுகளுடன் அடலமர் புரியும் காட்சியைக் கண்டு களிக்கும் உரோம மேன்மகனுக அன்றோ மாறியிருப்பான்! பிறப்பால் சூழலால் முதலாளியாய் இருந்தும் உள்ளத்தில் உண்மை உழைப் பாளனின் இரக்க உணர்வு செறிந்திருந்தமையால் அன்றோ,

" மையிருங் குன்றின் விஞ்சையன் ஏய்ப்பப்
பிடர்த்தலை இருந்து பெருஞ்சினம் பிறழாக்
கடக்களி றடக்கிய கருணை மறவ !"

(அடைக்கலக் காதை : 51-53)

என்று மாமறையோன் மாடலன் பாராட்டினன் ?

பிள்ளை நகுலத்தைக் கொன்றமையால் கணவனல் துறக்கப் பட்ட அருமறையாட்டி அருந்துயர் களைவோரைத் தேடியலைந்த போது,

" அஞ்சல் ! உன்றன் அருந்துயர் களைகேன் ;
நெஞ்சுறு துயரம் நீங்குக !" (அடைக்கலக் காதை : 68-69)

என்று கூறித் துயர் களைந்தான் கோவலன்; அன்றியும் அவர்கள் வாழ்வுக்கு வேண்டிய பொருளும் கொடுத்தான். செல்வர்களின் அரக்க இதயம், ஈயாமை ஆகியவற்றை இங்கும் காணமுடியவில்லை.

" தீத்திறம் புரிந்தோள் செய்துயர் நீங்கத்
தானம் செய்தவள் தன்துயர் நீக்கிக்
கானம் போன கணவனைக் கூட்டி
ஒல்காச் செல்வத் துறுபொருள் கொடுத்து
நல்வழிப் படுத்த செல்லாச் செல்வ!"

(*அடைக்கலக் காதை: 71-75*)

என்றே அவன் அன்பு நெஞ்சம் பாராட்டப்படுகிறது.

கணவனையிழந்த மாசற்ற பத்தினிக்கும் அவள் கிளைகட்கும் பல்லாண்டு பொருளுதவினான் கோலலன் என்றொரு நிகழ்ச்சியையும் இளங்கோ குறிப்பிடுகிறார். மீண்டும் உண்மையுழைப்பாளனின் கருணையுள்ளத்தையே இளங்கோ காட்டுகிறார்.

" அழிதரும் உள்ளத் தவளொடும் போந்தவன்
சுற்றத் தோர்க்கும் தொடர்புறு கிளைகட்கும்
பற்றிய கிளைஞரிற் பசிப்பிணி யறுத்துப்
பல்லாண்டு புரந்த இல்லோர் செம்மல்"

(*அடைக்கலக் காதை: 87-90*)

என்ற அடிகள் சான்று பகர்கின்றன.

தன்னம்பிக்கை, உழைப்பில் ஊக்கம் ஆகிய உழைப்பாளர் பண்புகளும் கோவலனை அணி செய்தன. குலந்தரு வான் பொருட்குன்றம் தொலைத்த இலம்பாடு நாணம் தருவதாகக் கூறிய கோவலன், உழைப்பால் உயரலாம் என்ற உறுதியும் தன்னம்பிக்கையும் இருந்தமையாலன்றோ,

" சிலம்பு முதலாகச் சென்ற கலனொடு
உலந்தபொருள் ஈட்டுதல் உற்றேன் மலர்ந்தசீர்
மாட மதுரை யகத்துச்சென்று"

(*கனாத்திறமுரைத்த காதை: 74-76*)

என்று கண்ணகிக்குக் கூறினான். உறுதியும் தன்னம்பிக்கையும் பற்றியன்றோ "ஈட்டலுறுவேன்" எனக் கூற வேண்டியவன் "ஈட்டுதலுற்றேன்" என்று மொழிந்தான்?

உழைப்பின் உயர்வை உணராதவன் கோவலனாயின், அவன் பெற்றோரும் கண்ணகி பெற்றோரும் தம் பொருளைத் தானமாக

வழங்கித் துறவு மேற்கொள்வானேன்? கோவலன், பெற்றோர் மாமனுர் பொருட்செல்வத்தைச் சுரண்டாமல், பொருளீட்ட மதுரை செல்வானேன்? எனவே, கோவலன் உழைப்பின் பெருமையில் உறுதியுள்ளவன், உழைத்தற்குப் பின் வாங்காதவன் என்பது திண்ணம். அதனுலேயே,

> " கோவலன் தாதை கொடுந்துயர் எய்தி
> மாபெருந் தானமா வான்பொருள் ஈந்தாங்கு
> ....
> துறந்தோர் தம்முன் துறவி யெய்தவும் "
>
> ....
> கண்ணகி தாதை கடவுளர் கோலத்து
> அண்ணலம் பெருந்தவத் தாசீ வகர்முன்
> புண்ணிய தானம் புரிந்தறங் கொள்ளவும் "
> (நீர்ப்படைக் காதை : 90-95, 98-100)

நேரிட்டதாக மாடலன் கூறினுன். கண்ணகியும் உழைப்பின் மேன்மையை உணர்ந்தவள்.

> " அறிவும் ஒழுக்கமும் யாண்டுஉணர்ந் தனள்கொல் !
> கொண்ட கொழுநன் குடிவற னுற்றெனக்
> கொடுத்த தந்தை கொழுஞ்சோ றுள்ளாள் " (நற்றிணை : 110)

என்று போதனுர் கூறுந் தமிழ்க்குடி நங்கையின் வழித்தோன்றல் கண்ணகியாதலால் அன்றோ தன் தந்தை பொருளை உள்ளாது அவள் கோவலன் உழைப்பின் பயனையே துய்க்க விரும்பினுள்?

எனவே, பிறப்பால், தோற்றத்தால், சூழலால், கோவலன் முதலாளியாகக் காணப்பட்டாலும், உள்ளப் பண்பால் எண்ணத் தால் உழைப்பாளி என்றே இளங்கோ காட்டுகிருர். அதனுல், புறத் தோற்றத்தில் சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலாளி இலக்கியமென நிழலிடு கிறது. உண்மைப் பண்பால் குடி மக்கள் காப்பியமாக ஒளி வீசுகிறது.

சிலப்பதிகாரம் இவ்வாறு புதுமைத் தோற்றம் அளிப்பதன் காரணம், அக்காலத் தமிழகத்தின் பண்பு மேம்பாடு என்றே கூற வேண்டும். சிலப்பதிகார காலத்தில் உலகின் ஏனைய பாகங்களில் முடியரசு அன்பிற்கும் அறத்திற்கும் புறம்பாக விளங்கத் தமிழகத் தில் அன்போடும் அறத்தோடும் பிணைந்தே விளங்கியது. அவ்வாறே உலகின் ஏனைய பாகங்களில் பணக்காரர், மேன்

மக்கள் ஆகியோர் இரக்கமில்லாக் கொடியராய் வாழத் தமிழகத்தில் தமக்கென வாழாப் பிறர்க்குரியாளராகச் செல்வர் வாழ்ந்தனர்.

"செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல்
துய்ப்பே மெனினே தப்புன பலவே." (புறம் : 189)

எனவும்,

"பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை." (குறள் : 322)

எனவும் தங்கள் குறிக்கோளை அவர்கள் வகுத்தார்கள். அதனு லன்றோ ஜார் மன்னனுக்கு எதிராக இரஷ்யமக்கள் புரட்சி செய்து முடியரசிற்கு முற்றுப் புள்ளியிட்டதுபோலத் தாங்களும் செய்யாது மதுரை மக்கள்,

"களையாத துன்பமிக் காரிகைக்குக் காட்டி
வளையாத செங்கோல் வளைந்த திதுவென்கொல் !"
(ஊர்சூழ் வரி : 17-18)

என்று இனையன சொல்லித் தூற்றுவதோடு அமைதியுற்றார்கள் ?

Hints Regarding the Origin of the Present Tense Suffix 'kinr' in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV

Three suffixes of the present tense, namely āninr, kinr and kir, are given in the medieval Tamil grammar Nannūl.[1] Morphological heterogeneity of the first suffix is obvious. Forms like ceyyāninrān "he does" naṭavāninrān "he walks" consist of verbal participles (vinai-y-eccam) in= ā and past tense forms of the verb nil = "to stand, to stop, to stay", i.e., ceyyāninrān < ceyyā "doing" + ninrān "he stayed", naṭavāninrān < naṭavā "walking" + ninrān "he stayed", etc. This structure of the "suffix" āninr is proved by the fact that the verb nil =, which is a part of it, can itself vary in tenses and sometimes is put in the future tense, e.g., tamiḻ nūlāciriyar .... kūrānirpar "Tamil authors state..."[2]

Two other suffixes kinr and kir are definitely two forms of one suffix.[3] As Dr. R. Caldwell notes, it is Dr. K. Graul who has suggested first[4] that the suffix kinr consists of the aorist-future suffix ku and the word inru "to-day, now" which specifies an indefinite form in ku. This suggestion was supported afterwards by R. Caldwell and H. Gundert.[5] Later the same view was expressed by

[1] 'aninru kinru kirumu vitattin
aimpa nikalpolu taraivinai yitainilai' (Nan. 143)

[2] V. G. Suryanarayana Sastriyar, *History of the Tamil Language*, Madura, 1953, pp. 61-62. According to V. G. Suryanarayana Sastriyar, the verb nil =, when used in this way, can be put in the past, in the present, or in the future tense: ceyya ninran, ceyya nirkiran, ceyya nirpan (cf. ibid., p. 75).

[3] R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 3d ed., London, 1913, p. 494.

[4] K. Graul, *Outline of Tamil Grammar*, Leipzig, 1855.

[5] R. Caldwell, ibid.

A. M. Mervart in his Tamil Grammar published in Russian: “That which is new in these forms (cey-k-iṉṟ-ēṉ, cey-k-iṟēṉ. — M.A.), — he writes, — is an element which has a shape of iṉṟ or iṟ. The former phonetic complex is obviously the word iṉṟu “now, to-day”. By suffixation of this word iṉṟu the time of action is fixed exactly, and instead of cey-k-ēṉ which means “doing is mine”, i.e. “I do” or “I shall do”, we get cey-k-iṉṟ-ēṉ (< ceyku-iṉṟu-ēṉ) which thus acquires a definite meaning of “doing is mine now”, i.e. “I am doing now”; iṟu is denasalised iṉṟu (cf. iṉṟu “to-day” but iṟṟai “to-day’s, of to-day”).”[6]

At present derivation of the suffix kiṉṟ from the word iṉṟu “to-day” looks unprobable. J. Bloch after comparing present tense forms in Brāhūī and in Southern Dravidian languages comes to the conclusion that the present tense suffixes in Telugu (unn) and Tamil (kiṟ) are actually roots of auxiliary verbs which are not employed independently and attach personal terminations in the present tense directly to the root: this is characteristic of the present tense Brāhūī as well as of some auxiliary verbs in Telugu (kal — “to be”, gal — “can”, paḍ — “to suffer”) and in Kurukh (arg — “not to have”).[7]

However, there are some grounds to believe that the derivation of the present tense suffix kiṟ cannot be absolutely completed with postulating a root *kiṟ that first was independent and then turned into a suffix. As shown by E. H. Tuttle, Tamil ṟ is a derivative of l, ṉ, or r in contact with a voiceless sound.[8]

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[6] A. M. Mervart, *Grammatika Tamiljskogo Razgovornogo Jazyka*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 72. Criticism of such treatment of finite forms by A. M. Mervart see in K. Zvelebil, *A Note on Tamil Verbal Morphology*, “Archiv Orientalni”, 1955, XXIII, pp. 479-80.

[7] J. Bloch, *Structure Gnammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes*, Paris, 1946, p. 59.

[8] E. H. Tuttle, Review of K. Ramakrishnaiah’s “*Studies in Dravidian Philology*”, JAOS, vol. 57, p. 115; *The History of Tamil R*, ibid., pp. 411-15.

Therefore kiṟ and especially kiṉṟ cannot be original forms and must be traced to some other root, e.g., *kil.[9]

If J. Bloch and E. Tuttle are right a question must arise about the second element concealed in the last sound of the suffix kiṟ (< kiṉṟ).

Comparison of the present tense suffixes āniṉṟ (< ā-nil+t) and kiṉṟ makes us believe that in kiṉṟ also we may probably have a past tense base of some root, i.e. a root to which the past tense suffix t is attached: kiṉṟ < kil+t. This explains why personal terminations are suffixed directly to ki(ṉ)ṟ: verbal roots in Tamil do not generally take any personal terminations. In fact ki(ṉ)ṟ is not a root but a past tense base, and personal terminations are suffixed to it in complete conformity with grammar (cf. niṉṟ-ēṉ, niṉṟ-āy, niṉṟ-āṉ, etc.). At any rate, it is obvious that if at a certain period of history of Tamil there was no special suffix to denote the present tense,[10] then in a later period, when it became necessary to delimit clearly present tense forms from those of the past and future, the language should have to resort to lexical means of expressing this notion on the basis of resources already available in it at that time. In case of ā-niṉṟ it was periphrasis of the verbal participle in -ā and past forms of nil-. The suffix kiṉṟ (< kiṟ), irresolvable now, could arise in an analogous way.

Distribution of k : kk in the suffix (k)kiṉṟ is not caused by any phonological reasons, but it is connected with the classification of verbs into weak and strong (cf.

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[9] In this connection it is possible to note a verbal root kil,- "to be able" which can be suffixed to some other verb to indicate ability (see Tamil Lexicon).

[10] The suffix ki(n)r is not to be found in the oldest Tamil texts. Cf.: R. Caldwell, ibid.; K. Zvelebil, *Tentative Periodization of Tamil*, "Tamil Culture", 1957, vol. VI, No. I, pp. 50-52. Before the suffix kinr arises, K. Zvelebil writes, "the verb has two tenses (aorist-future and preterite) which seem to be rather aspects (momentaneous-durative, perfective-imperfective) than tenses" (ibid., p. 51). For the first time kinr appears in Late Middle Tamil (ibid., p. 54).

maraikinrēn and maraikkinrēn, tarukinrēn and irukkinrēn). This fact stands in favour of Dr. K. Graul's suggestion that (k)k in (k)kinr is a suffix of the aorist-future. Therefore it seems impossible to consider (k)inr an indivisible suffix. Our suggestion is that (k)kinr consists of (k)k, a suffix attached to the root of the main verb, and inr, the past tense base (= root + t) of another verb. Once independent, it was used (like ninr, the past tense base of nil- "to stand, to stay") to express the meaning of the present tense and later, after merging with (k)k, turned into an indivisible suffix of the present tense: (k)kinr < (k)ku + inr < (k)ku + il + t.[11]

What is the nature of the root il- which is, as we can see it now, a basis of the present tense suffix kinr? In what relation does it stand to the negative root il-?

There are two negative roots in Tamil, il- and al- "not to be". Different opinions have been expressed about the original meaning of these roots. Dr. R. Caldwell thinks, for instance, that such words like anru "it is not", anmai "notness, negation", alku- "to become less", al "darkness", alvaḷi "absence of inflexion", inru "it is not", inmai "non-existence", ili "one who has nothing", etc., show that the negative meaning lies in the root itself.[12] H. Gundert,[13] F. Kittel,[14] and G. U. Pope,[15] on the contrary, contend that the negative meaning should be connected with the form of words, while the very roots il- and al- have nothing to do with it. "Illai (really illē) and alla, G. U. Pope writes, are negative forms of two old positive roots, il = ir = be, and al = ar = befit."[16]

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[11] This root (il-) could not look like * ir- since the roots in -r have -nt- in the past tense and undergo no morphophonemic changes; in- is a variant of il- (cf. inmai < il-mai).

[12] R. Caldwell, ibid., pp. 476-77.

[13] Cf. ibid.

[14] F. Kittel, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, Mangalore, 1903, p. 160.

[15] G. U. Pope, *A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, Oxford, 1904, p. 96.

[16] Ibid.

Such negative forms of the verb iru- "to be" as irātu "it is not, it will be not", irār "they are not, they will be not", etc., show, however, that negative forms of this verb are construed not by the interchange r : l but by suffixation of the negative ā (< a)[17] to the root.

At the same time, there is at least one positive form in Modern Tamil derived from the roots il- and al-, namely infinitives, as in illavē illai, allavē alla "not in the least, not at all" (cf.: māṭṭavē māṭṭēṉ "I will not", teriyavē teriyātē "it is absolutely unknown", kāṇavē kāṇōm "no trace is visible", vēṇṭavē vēṇṭā "absolutely unnecessary", etc.). This testifies to the fact that il- and al- are two independent roots from which both positive and negative forms can be derived.

It is difficult to determine the primary meaning of the roots il- and al-. Most probably they could not originally have such an abstract negative meaning as they have now but should have denoted some specific action or condition.[18] In the course of time that specific meaning grew weaker and weaker, and the word gradually came to express abstract negation. The same process is developing now in the instance of the verb māṭṭu- "to attach, to fix" where negative forms are used in the sense of negative verbs "shall not, will not": ceyya māṭṭēṉ "I shall not do", "I will not do", "I am not inclined to do", "I am not going to do". Dr. R. Caldwell's examples, which he quotes as a proof of primary negativeness of these roots, ought to be the result of later development.

To conclude, the verbs il- and al- could not have been originally only negative in their meaning. Like the verb

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[17] Cf. V. I. Subramaniam, *Negatives*, "Tamil Culture", 1959, vol. VIII, No. I.

[18] S. Gnana Prakasar thinks, for example, that the root il- originally had the meaning "to slip away" and the root al- meant "to knit together" (S. Gnana Prakasar, *An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language*, vol. I, Chunnakam, 1938, p. IV). However, this etymology cannot be considered final.

māṭṭu- " to attach, to fix ", they had had specific lexical meaning and a full paradigm in the positive and negative forms. Gradually their lexical meaning grew more and more abstract and then completely died away. Positive forms of these verbs got out of use, and negative forms came to denote abstract negation. Since there was no opposition of positive forms, the negative meaning ceased to be connected with a form — negative form — of these verbs and was associated with the very roots. This gave an opportunity to arise to such forms which expressed negation only by their roots.

The only positive forms of il- and al- to be found now are infinitives which are widely used till the present day.

Positive forms of the past tense of the verb il- can be traced in medieval and modern forms of the present tense in (k)kiṉr (cf. aṟikiṉṟāṉ " he knows " aṟiku + iṉṟāṉ and aṟikilaṉ " he doesn't know " < aṟiku + ilaṉ, the corresponding negative form of il-).[19]

[19] It seems quite probable that in varukirpatu (Tirunavukkaracar, Tevāram, Cennai, 1957, p. 525) we have a form of the future tense of il- : varukirpatu varuku + irpatu (cf. the use of the future tense of nil with verbal participles in -ā to give the meaning of the present tense). Tamil Lexicon cites this word as an example of the ṣuffix kil expressing ability.

The Tamil Book of Proverbs

REV. H. S. DAVID

Introduction and Plan of this and of the next Article

1. Its peculiar diction, compared with the earliest Tamil classics, especially the Kuruntokai and its parallel anthologies.
2. The internal evidence of certain stanzas in this work.
3. The common structure of the 399 stanzas of this book.
4. The arrangement of these stanzas according to topics, with some comparisons with the Nālaṭi, herein referred to as Nāl.
5. The proverbs proper: a few selections, besides those mentioned under 1 and 2.
6. How we should appreciate this work: its place, considering the above points, (*a*) in time and (*b*) in merit and importance among the 18 *minor* classics: பதினெண் கீழ்க்கணக்கு.

THE INTRODUCTION

Two years ago, in Vol. VII, No. 4 of *Tamil Culture* I published my critical appreciation of one of our ancient 18 *major* classics: பதினெண் மேற்கணக்கு namely, the Kuruntokai. Now I shall do the same for one of our ancient 18 *minor* classics, the Paḷamoḷi. This book is not so well-known as some of its companion-works, like the Tirukkuraḷ and the Nālaṭi. It is my contention that it is well worth our study as *thoroughly representative of Late Classical times,* confining the word " Classical " to connote what are generally called " Sangham " works. For obvious reasons I avoid this latter word in all my theses and articles.

I-A. THE PECULIAR DICTION OF THE TAMIL BOOK OF PROVERBS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE EARLIEST CLASSICAL WORKS, AS AN INDEX TO THE TIME AND PLACE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

As I have already introduced the readers of *Tamil Culture* to the Kuṟuntokai anthology (Vol. VII, No. 4, Oct., 1958) I shall cite mainly therefrom and from its parallel anthologies, like Aka Nā. (AN.) and Puṟa Nā (PN.).

1. ampuli = the moon, cantiraṉ, C. This word does not occur in the earliest classics, like the Kuṟun.* To every Tamilian child, however, it is familiar from the nursery rhyme, அம்புலி மாமா, அழகழக சொக்கா .... To this Paḷ. 264c alludes: பிள்ளைகளை மருட்டும் தாயர்போல் அம்புலி மேல்.

2. al[1] = distress, Com. tuṉpam அல் உறினும், Paḷ. 273a. This monosyllabic word is evidently shorter and earlier than the ordinary word from this base, allal, அல்லல், as at Kuṟun. 43:5 and 381:2 allal neñcamoṭu. The verbal form corresponding to this monosyllabic noun is ala- to incur distress, வறுமை உறு; this form too is to be found in Paḷ. as at 101a (twice), alappiṉ alavākkāl, in the positive and negative conditional viṉai eccam respectively.

3. al[2] = evil, தீமை, as at Pal. 101a அல்லவை செய்ப.

4. al[3] = poor, wretched, miserable, கல்வியறிவு இல்லாதாரின், as at Paḷ. 23a: அல் அவையுள் தோன்றி அல அலைத்து ...

5. aṉukku = to cause distress, varuttu, C. here and M.L. (Madras Lexicon), p. 192. This unusual word, which does not occur in the Earliest Tamil Anthologies like the Kuṟun., occurs at Paḷ. 253c காம்பு அனுக்கும் மென்தோளாய்! = "O thou whose shoulders rival in softness, and thus

* The writer does not include Kalitogai as belonging to the earliest classics Kali. 80, 15 has "அம்புலி காட்டல் இனிது"

cause distress to, the bamboo reeds ! " This word likewise occurs in the Early Mediaeval Kāvyas or Epic Poems, e.g., Peruṅkatai, I:53:154 அணிக்கவின் மென்னடை அனுக்க...... Civakacin. 1942a தீங்கரும்பு அனுக்கிய திருந்து தோள்களும். The Com. reads கரும்பைத் தம் அழகால் கெடுத்த தோள்கள்.

6. a̲n̲aittu : This is one of the best words we possess in Tamil for gauging the relative time of any poem in this language. It corresponds to the Telugu word *anta,* which has two meanings :—

(A) *ṭhat, as much as, as far as, so much* e.g., gōr*anta* v'uṇṭe koṇḍ-*anta* cēstāḍu = he makes a mountain out of a molehill.

(B) *whole.* The final " a " is lengthened in talk: dēśam-*antā* = the whole land. These two meanings are to be found for the Tam. word a̲n̲aittu : but in the earliest classics only the *first* meaning is found, in the later classics the second. Thus (A) at Kuṟun. 217:4 ஆங்கியான் கூறிய அனைத்திற்கு .... the Com. reads : அவ்வாறு யான் சொன்ன அதற்கு Cf. Kuṟun. p. 457. This is clearly the first meaning. This trisyllabic word " a̲n̲aittu " has, as one should expect, a dissyllabic base already in the Kuṟun., as the following instances testify. " a̲n̲ai " = so much, *avva-ḷavu,* Com. as at Kuṟun. 99 : 6 அனைப்பெருங் காமம் ஈண்டு கடைக்கொளலவே.

From this meaning it is just a step more in semantic change for " a̲n̲ai " to obtain the connotation of " being like that ", as at

Kuṟun. 315 : 3 ஞாயிறு அனையன் = my lover is like the sun.

" 315 : 4 நெருஞ்சி அனையஎன் பெரும்பணைத் தோளே

" 52 : 2 சூர் நசைத்து அனையை. 2nd Pers. sing. (spoken to a girl).

" 164 : 6 அனையேம்= அத்தன்மையேம், C. 1st Pers. plural.

" 309 : 6 நின்னூர் நெய்தல் அனையேம், பெரும.

In the whole of Kurun. you will *never* find this word in its second meaning.

B. But in the Paḷ. stanzas it is the *second* meaning that we come across :—

3a-b : விளக்குத் துளக்கமின்று என்று அனைத்தும் தூக்கி.
Com. விளக்கின் தன்மை முழுமையும் ஆராய்ந்து.

Likewise at Paḷ. 262 b ceykai anaittinum = in every action ; Com. ceykaiyinkaṉ *ellām.*

Paḷ. 277a : சீர்த்தகு மன்னர் சிறந்து அனைத்துங் கெட்டாலும்.

The Com. reads : சீர்மை தக்க அரசர்களுடைய சிறப்பு எல்லாம் கெட்டவிடத்தும்.

Thus in the Paḷ. this word always means " whole, entire, all ". Contrast therewith its sense in Pura Nā. (A) or the first meaning is evident in these instances :

15 : 3 அனையவர் நனந்தலை நல்லெயில். C. அவருடைய = of *those.*

20 : 20 அனையையாகன் = C. அத்தன்மையை யாதலால் = since thou art of *that character.* Clearly the first meaning.

4 : 17 அனையை யாகன் = C. அத்தன்மையை யாதலான் = idem

196 : 8 அனைத்தாகியர் இனி இதுவே எனைத்தும்! C. அத்தன்மைத்து ஆகுக = may this now become of *that nature!* Optative.

Thus the Pur Nā., like the Kurun., has the word only in its first meaning : the Paḷ. employs it only in its second meaning. The Paripāṭal, which many literary critics state to be the last (in point of time) of the Eight Anthologies (எட்டுத் தொகை), has the word in both senses. Thus at

1 : 31 அன்ன மரபின் அனையோய் = thou art of *that* tradition.

3 : 44 அனைத்தும் அல்ல = C. அவ்வளவும் அல்ல = not so *much.*

In these instances we easily detect the first meaning. But at Paripāṭal 3 : 68 அனைத்தும் நீ ; அனைத்தினுட் பொருளும் நீ = thou art *all* ! and thou art the reality in *everything !* This is the second meaning evidently, occurring twice in the same foot of this hymn in praise of Viṣṇu or Tirumāl. Thus we can safely state that the Paḷ. is slightly posterior to the Paripāṭal and is nearer to the time of the Paripāṭal than to that of the Kur̲un. or Pur̲a Nā. from this and other instances.

7. ikal = battle, as twice in stanza 293 of Paḷ. a and b (first and second) lines :

இகலின் வலியாரை எள்ளி எளியார்
இகலின் எதிர்நிற்றல் ஏதம்.

The Com. on " ikal " is " pōr " = battle.

This noun is never seen in the Kur̲un. ; but the corresponding verb occurs once, at 257 : 6, in the sense of " opposing " : இகலுந்தோழிநங் காமத்துப் பகையே. The nominal form occurs at least twice in the Paripā., at 6 : 28 = a fight, at 9 : 36 = " pulavi " i.e. amatorial strifes between husband and wife ; in the almost contemporary work, Tiru Muruk. 131-2, in the sense of " enmity ", in several other instances in the Paḷ. itself, as at 21b and 263b ; at Nāl. 137b ikal ilar ; at Patir̲r̲. 14 : 13 ikal koḷḷum ; 43 : 29 ikal vin̲ai ; and at Tolkāp. Por. 68 : 9 ikal matil.

I have given a pretty *exhaustive* study of a few words, especially of " an̲aittu ", above. Clearly it is impossible to continue this for the remaining 60 to 70 words, unless this article is to assume unmanageable proportions. Hence I shall mete out a more summary treatment to the remaining words.

8. avviyam = deceit, fraud, vañcakam, Paḷ. 264b. The words "avviyamum ceyvar" in this stanza are explained thus in the Com. " சூழ்ச்சி முதலியன செய்தலோடு பொய் உரைத்து வஞ்சித்தாயினும் "

The Kuṟaḷ, at 169a " avviya neñcattāṉ " has this word in its earlier meaning of perversity or envy. C. has மனக் கோட்டம், பொறாமை, அழுக்காறு. This word, as well as the opportunity for it, do not arise in the Kaṟuntokai.

9. aḷ = small, ciṟu, Paḷ. 297d. This is a peculiar meaning, not even mentioned in M.L. when it deals with this word on page 166. The words " aḷ illam " in our book are explained as " ciṟiya illam " in the Com. on Paḷ. 297d.

10. ār = to obtain, aṭai, C. at Paḷ. 282d. The M.L. gives nine meanings for this word on page 239, but this sense is left out there. The proverb runs: ஏம் ஆரார் கோங்கேறினர். The Com. on this line, Paḷ. 282d, reads கோங்க மரத்தின் மீது ஏறினவர்கள் பாதுகாவலை அடையார்.

11. āṇṭu = there, Paḷ. 27b. This word is peculiar to the ancient classics and occurs seldom in later works. It occurs four times in the Kuṟun., at 54 : 5 ; 184 : 4 ; 218 : 7 and 275 : 8 ; likewise at Puṟa Nā. 78 : 9 ; Paripā. 17 : 29 (twice) ; Muruk. 249 ; Kuṟ. 363b, 1098a ; Nāl. 35b, 91d, 271d ; Tolkā. Por. 562 ; 566 ; 571 ; 580 ; 634. The slightly later word to express this idea is āṅku = there, as at Kuṟ. 333b, 487a ; Nāl. 28c ; or āṅkaṇ = there, as at Cīv. 1559c, and still later *aṅku* or aṅkē, with the radical or first syllable of āṅku *shortened*, as also for īṅku, ūṅku, yāṅku, *about* 700 A.D. But all the alternate forms are used for a long time later, at least occasionally.

12. āmā = wild cow, bos gaveus, kāṭṭuppacu, Com. M.L. p. 235. This word occurs at Paḷ. 282c and Nāl. 377a. An earlier form āmāṉ, in the identical sense, occurs at Kuṟun. 322 : I ; Naṟṟ. 165 : I ; Malaipaṭu. 500 ; Kuṟiñc- 253 ; Cīv. 1902c, āmāṉ iṉam. Thus while the earlier form

reaches out at least to the 9th century A.D., the later form, produced by the not unusual dropping of the final nasal, occurs at least as early as Puṟa Nā. 117 : 5 ஆமா நெடுநிரை.

13. iḷaitu = *that which is young, tender, weak, not fully developed,* as at Paḷ. 277d இளைது என்று பாம்பு இகழ் வார் இல்; so also at Paḷ. 286 a-b இளைது ஆய போழ்தே ... களையின், முதிராதே; at Kuṟ. 879a இளைது ஆக முண்மரங் கொல்க... This word is not to be found in the Kuṟun., but the earlier and basic word "iḷai" = *weak, tender, young,* is frequently met with. Cf. Sinhalese "lamaya" = idem.

14. iṟai = king, Paḷ. 243b. The word iṟai occurs 13 times in the Kuṟun. but always in one of the following connotations: இறப்பு, கைச்சந்து, சந்து, சிறகு, சிறிது, தங்கு தல், முன்கை. It is never employed in the sense of king or ruler therein. In the Kuṟal, however, iṟai is used in this sense, as at 547a இறைகாக்கும் வையகம் எல்லாம். Before this, at Tolkā. Por. 256a this word is employed in the sense of superior, uyarntōṉ, Com., and at Paripā. 11 : 8 in the sense of an elder brother. I suspect that this noun is intimately connected with the verb "iṟai". Kan. eṟagu = to bend, bow before, to worship. Cf. "iṟaiñcu". Kuṟun. 198 : 4 : Tv. 1 : 21 (Tv = Tiruvācakam).

15. (uḷ <) uṇ = to take in, has 9 significations acc. to M.L., p. 402. But Paḷ. 297d employs the verb "uṇ" in the quite unusual sense of "*contracting*" *a debt,* which M.L. does not mention. The Com. reads koṇṭa kaṭaṉai.

16. "uṇṭi" (Nāl. Ia; 363c) and "uṇavu" (Puṟa. 18 : 20 and 21; Maṇi. 10 : 90) are the usual words for "food". The Kuṟun. employs "uṇṭi" alone, as at 156 : 4. The Paḷ. employs instead the alternate form "*uṇā*", as at 4d, 85d, 295d, as does Māṅkuṭi Kiḷār at Puṟa. 335 : 6. There is an ancient alternance between -avu and -ā as the final syllables of nouns, as is evident from such words as kaṉ-ā (Paḷ. 130d) and kaṉavu; puṟā and puṟavu, arā (Kuṟun. 43 : 4) and aravu (Kuṟun. 119 : 1), ira (= night, Kuṟun. twice) and iravu (= id. Kuṟun. 10 times).

17. urai, acc. to M.L., has several senses: cf. p. 451 there. Here I take only one of the homonyms and trace its semantic changes:—

(1) urai, as a verb, "to speak, utter". 6 times in Kuṟun.; Paripā. 2 : 35 ; 18 : 22 ; Tolkā. Eḷ. 224d and Paḷ. 130c.

(2) urai, as a noun, "a speech, word". 3 times in Kuṟun.; Paripā. 2 : 35 ; Tol. Eḷ. 34b, 210g, 224c.

(3) urai, as a verb, "to speak harshly, to rebuke, scold," Paḷ. 75d and 295a.

(4) urai, as a noun, "a harsh word or reply", Paḷ. 75d, which is an old proverb : உரைத்தால் உரைபெறுதல் உண்டு.

18. uḷ = inside, is now employed as a locative post-position. But at Paḷ. 75b, "uḷ ūṉra", this word occurs in its ancient connotation as *a full-blooded noun.* The Com. reads மனம் உளையும்படி = to pain *the mind.* Cf. Kuṟun. 376 : 6 uḷ akam, and Nāl. 289c uḷ aṟṟu. The ordinary noun from this base, employed from Early Classical times to this day, is uḷḷam = the mind or the heart, as the seat of the emotions. Cf. Kuṟun. 102 : 1 உள்ளினும் உள்ளம் வேம். In the veṇpā stanza to Sarasvati, as the goddess of speech and wisdom, that starts with the words ஆய கலைகள் in the third foot (அடி) we come across the words என் உள்ளத்தின் உள்ளே. Herein "uḷḷam" is the noun, while "uḷḷē" is the locative casal affix or postposition. These two must be clearly distinguished.

19. eṇku = a bear, Paḷ. 292d, Maṇim. 16 : 68.

20. The particle "evaṉ", not in the modern sense of "who ?" but in its old signification of "how ?" Com. ennaṉam, eppaṭi. The Kuṟun. employs this word in this sense or in the analogous sense of "what ?" as often as 19 times, sometimes alone, sometimes with kol or ō, the particles of interrogation, added. The Kuṟ. too employs

the last two particles along with "evan" in this sense. The Pal. at 282b does the same :

வா(ம்) மான் தேர் மன்னரைக் காய்வது எவன்கொலோ?
How can one bear hatred towards kings with chariots and spirited steeds ?

This usage diminishes in early mediaeval literature onwards : there evan = who ?

21. evvam = distress, tunpurutal, Pal. 267c ; Pura. 393 : 11 and Kurun. 289 : 2 (evva nōy) and five other times.

22. ētam = affliction, innal, Com. Pal. 293b. This word does not occur in the earliest stratum of Tamil, as in Kurun. and Pura Nā. which employ "evvam" instead. In the Kural, however, it occurs nine times, at 136b, 164b, 275b, 432b, 464b, 831a, 884b, 885b and 1006a. Likewise, at Maṇi. 5 : 71 ; 27 : 6 ; 29 : 48 ; at Cīv. 1097d, 2498d ; at Tiruvāc. 19 : 5 ; 20 : 20 ; 26 : 6 ; 30 : 22 ; at Tol. Por. 270 : 2 ; 458 : 1. Sometimes in the above mentioned instances the meaning changes to "fault", kurram ; "obstacle" iṭaiyūru. The employment of "ētam" puts Pal. in a later stratum of literature than Kurun. or Pura Nā. It seems absurd that the M.L. is unable to find even one instance from Tamil literature for this word on page 558 and feels obliged to cite lexicographers and nighaṇṭus like "Tivā". (Tivākaram) for the first two meanings of this word. On comparing "ētam" with "ēt-il" = faultless, at Tiruvāc. 43 : 31, one suspects "ētu" to be the real base and "-am" to be a cāriyai, as in several other words.

23. "ēm" = defence, shelter, protection, Pal. 282d. The Com. here gives "pātukāval". At times the word takes on the affix (cāriyai) "-am", and often the meaning changes to the "pleasure and delight", consequent on the protection afforded. The adjectival or correlative form is "ēma", as at Kurun. 107 : 7 ēma in tuyil = the sheltered pleasant sleep beside her beloved one. In this sense "ēm"

or " ēmam " occurs 6 times in Kuṟun. ; at Puṟa. 1 : 11 ; Aka Nā. four times ; Patiṟṟ. 15 : 38 ; Ciṟupāṉ. 76 ; Maturaik. 686 ; Malaip. 306 ; Muruk. 97 ēm uṟa ; Cīv. five times at least ; Tol. Por. 37 : 1 ; 50 : 2 ; 72 : 8 ; 79 : 5 ; 111 : 34 ; 146 : 9 ; 147 : 19 ; 192 : 2.

24. " kaṭal ", in the M.L., page 660 and in Tamil literature generally, always means " the sea ". Such is its signification at Paḷ. 78c and d ; 269d etc. but at Paḷ. 197d it obtains the quite unusual connotation of " a far land over the ocean ". The pertinent words are : கடலுள்ளும் காண் பவே நன்கு. The Com. explains " kaṭal " here as கடல் தாண்டிச் சென்ற இடம்.

25. " kaṇ " has several senses, including " the eye ". In the early Tam. literature it also meant " a place ". Later, however, it ceased to be a noun *in this sense* and became a locative casal affix. Hence its occurrence as a *full-blooded noun in this sense* helps to fix the relevant work as to its time, as at Kuṟun. 355 : 1 ; 366 : 4 ; 379 : 3 ; 380 : 1 ; Aka. 8 : 9 etc., PN. 35 : 23 ; Nāl. 151a ; Kuṟ. 1058a and at Paḷ. 39a, 72a and c, 229a, 261c, 277c, 281c, 289a, c, 299d, atleast 10 times.

26. " kaṇakku ". The M.L., p. 701 gives it fifteen senses, of which I take the twelfth. When the classification of the earliest Tamil poetry took place, this was divided into two parts, with the word " kaṇakku " appended to both : mēṟkaṇakku and kīḻkkaṇakku. Here this word is not used in the modern sense of " reckoning " or " number ", but in the 6th to 7th century (A.D.) sense of " *literature* ". Now the Paḷ. employs the word in this very sense, in stanza 5 : கணக்கினை முற்றப் பகலும் முனியாது இனிதோதிக் கற்றல். Likewise at Paḷ. 92c kaṇakku means " letters ".

27. " kantu ". The M.L. on p. 719 gives 14 meanings to this word, both as noun and verb, of which 12 are nominal. The Kuṟaḷ at 507a, employs it to mean " a staff, crutch,

support" : it is in this identical sense that Paḷ. too employs it, as at 292a பேதைமை கந்தா = அறியாமையைப் பற்றுக் கோடாக.

28. "Kalām". M.L. on p. 781 gives it four meanings, but all centred round the idea of "fighting in rage", as at Puṟa Nā. 69 : 11, Maṇim. 1 : 63 ; Cīv. 620d (competition, māṟupāṭu) ; also at Paḷ. 111a, 112b, 302c (fighting). But at Paḷ 78c it obtains an unusual connotation. The words are the following :—குடம்பை மடலொடு புட்கலாம். The Com. runs : கூடு பொருந்திய மடல்களோடு பறவைகள் விரவாநின்ற. Evidently புள் + கலாம் becomes புட்கலாம். But why "kalām ? This is the meaning, not of "kalām", which is a noun acc. to M.L., but of "kalāvu", the verb, acc. to M.L. and Kuṟiñcip. 48. Possibly kalāvum has been shortened into "kalām" owing to metrical exigencies. "Kuṭampai" (= a bird's nest) employed here is peculiar : it occurs also at Kuṟun. 301 : 2 and Kuṟaḷ 338a (nest with eggs), but is not the normal classical word for this. With kalāvum < kalām, compare vāvum < vām, under Nos. 20 and 70 here.

29. kaṉaṟṟu = to enrage, inflame, causative of "kaṉal, kaṉalu". The causative verb occurs at Puṟa Nā. 384 : 12 in the physical sense of "heating up". Nāl. 291c has the simple verb "kaṉalumē", in the moral sense. Kalit. 148 : 13 and Paḷ. 295c employ the causative "kaṉaṟṟu" in the moral sense, applying it to the passions of carnal love and anger respectively.

30. katam = anger, Puṟa Nā. 33 : 1 and Paḷ. 49c. In both instances this "anger" is attributed to dogs and the Com. renders it as "ciṉam". The *respective* words are these : kata nāy and katam paṭṭu nāy kavviṉ.

31. kātu = to overpower, Paḷ. 111d. This is a peculiar word, seldom met with in the early Tamil texts. It is employed here to describe the fatal results experienced by an untrained rider, who tries to mount and ride a mettle-

some steed and lashes it with his whip to bring it under his control. But he is thrown down headlong instead. The significant lines are :

நிலையழுங்க வேண்டிப் புடைத்தக்கால் வெண்மாத்
தலைகீழாக் காதி விடல்.

32. "kilaṅku". M.L. p. 935 equates this to "an esculent or bulbous root, as potato, yam, turnip, parsnip, palmyra root". It is in this sense that this word was used then and is employed now. Cf. Kuṟun. 379 : 2 ; Maṇi. 17 : 58 and the Com. on the former instance : கானவன் உண்ணும் பொருட்டுக்கிழங்கை அகழ்ந்தான். But at Paḷ. 296b கிழங்குடைய எல்லாம் முளைக்கும், the word reverts to its original sense of "anything going down (kīḷ)", any root ; வேருடைய புல் முதலியவெல்லாம் says the Com. With this one should compare "kiḷakku", which always connotes "below" *in the earliest texts*, never "east" as now. Some modern scholars, and even a Lecturer in Tamil at the University of London in my time, have not grasped this. Thus "kiḷakku" means "below", at Kuṟun. 337 : 2 ; Patiṟṟ. 36 : 10 ; Kuṟaḷ 448b ; Por. of Tolkā. 280.

33. "kuru", as a noun, is given 28 senses in M.L. on page 1013 : of these, the signification of "boil, sore, swelling" must be given to "kuru" at Paḷ. 283d கூன்மேல் எழுந்த குரு = "a boil on a hunch-back", a very graphic description indeed.

34. "kuṟu" means "short" and occurs about 60 times in the Kuṟun. in this sense, although M.L. on p. 1051 ignores this word. This word occurs often in Paḷ., especially in the picturesque proverb குறுமக்கள் காவு நடல், Paḷ. 120d. Small children uproot one another's trees and shrubs when planting a grove, as is my own experience 45 years ago.

35. From the above, kuṟu, was formed the verb kuṟai = to make short, thence to cut down, as at Paḷ. 280c (a

palmyra tree) ; 104c (the honey-flowing jack-fruit tree) ; 346d (the branch on which one is sitting) ; or to cut off (one's own hand, as the Pāṇḍiya King did), 76c.

36. kai = action. M. L. gives 28 meanings to "kai", on p. 1098 ; the nearest to our meaning that it gets to is No. 18, "that which is fit to be done". But at Paḷ. 109a, 242a, 248b, 280b, "kai" means "action", ceyal, Com. Kuṟun. has this usage nine times, Tol. Por. eleven times. Naṟṟ. and Aka. very often. Cf. Kan. key = to do and Tam. kai = the hand, the pre-eminent "do-er".

37. Koṭṭu = to clap, strike with the palms, Paḷ. 291d. An old word in Dravidian. Cf. koṭṭu in Tel. and Mal. in the identical sense.

38. Kommai. This word connotes at the same time circularity or rotundity, largeness and a slight elevation : it is therefore the aptest epithet for the swelling breasts of a young woman. This, as a matter of fact, is its most frequent use in Tamil literature from its earliest times, as at Kuṟun. 159 : 4 and AN. 65 : 18, both kommai vari mulai ; Paripā. 22 : 30 vār aṇi kommai ; Cīv. 347a kommai vem mulai : Cīv. 236a and c,2790c. But the basic idea is *thick rotundity*. tiraṭci, C. as at Kuṟun. 281 : 2. Hence "kommai koṭṭal" came to denote the clapping of hands held in a conical manner. as at Paḷ. 291d கூற்றம் புறங்கொம்மை கொட்டினர் இல் (= modern இல்லை) = none will clap his hands to Yama, the god of death. M. L. could have cited this instance instead of having to fall back on Tivā. as it does on p. 1155, No. 15. In later Tamil, according to the Dravidian o/u alternance, this word "kommai" becomes "kummi", in both Tam. and Mal. Cf. M.L. p. 1002 : 1.

39. "Kō nāy" = wolf, Paḷ. 292c. A very unusual word for the normal "ō nāy". M.L., which generally ignores the Paḷ. book, feels constrained to cite this instance from Pal. 292 : cf. its p. 1186.

40. cuvar = wall, Paḷ. 289c. This word occurs rarely in this sense in the early Tam. texts : the Kuṟun. has only one incidence, namely at 358 : 3. Aka. has two, 61 : 4 ; 289 : 10 ; Maṇi. at 21 : 125. " Cuvar " and " cuval " have near formations and near meanings : in E.C. texts the latter is used widely, far more frequently than " cuvar ", as shown above.

41. talai aḷi = to regard with grace, protect and heap favours on, Paḷ. 289a. Likewise at Kuṟun. 397 : 6 ; 400 Colophon ; PN. 67 : 3.

42. tanicu = a debt, kaṭaṉ, C. Paḷ. 297d. This is a very uncommon word, with this meaning alone. Cf. M.L., p. 1816. The foot of Paḷ. cited here has three unusual words, which I discuss here under numbers 9, 15 and 42. The line is worth quoting : அள் இல்லத்து உண்ட தனிசு, al illattu unṭa tanicu. The Com. thereon reads : சிறிய வீட்டில் தம்மோடு வாழ்வார் மாட்டுக்கொண்ட கடன் = a debt contracted with persons living in the same small hut. Every time the creditors meet you, the debt is a source of mental distress : and in a small house they should meet you very often. A striking metaphor.

43. tārru = winnowing, sifting, koḷittal, Com., Paḷ. 16b, a very unusual word. M.L. gives both the verbal and the nominal forms of this word at the bottom of p. 1857, but is unable to give a single text as authority for either. Hence it sadly annotates Loc. (twice) and Yāḷ akarāti (once) : the Jaffna Lexicon is alluded to here.

44. tāṟu = id. acc. to the Com. on Paḷ. 69c tāṟṟappaṭṭatu. Cf. 43 above. M.L on p. 1858 gives 9 significations for this word, but not the sense in Paḷ. 69c ; this is another instance of M.L. ignoring Paḷ.

45. " *tāyam* " first means a fall of the dice ; as this may be lucky or unlucky for any person who gambles therewith, the sense shifts to either a good opportunity, M.L. p. 1840, No. 8, or affliction, ibid. No. 9.

At *Paḷ.* 302d this last is the meaning : the time of old age and weakness.

46. tukir = coral, pavaḷam, *Paḷ.* 259d. A very old word, as the Kan. Tel. and Tul. equivalents testify. Cf. M.L. p. 1954. When we compare PN. 218:1 பொன்னுந் துகிரும் முத்தும் (tukirum) with Peruṇkatai, IV, 17:15 பவழமும் முத்தும் பசும்பொன் மாசையும் (pavaḷamum), we see that "tukir" has gone out of use in the later work and has been replaced by pavaḷam, later pavaḷam. Except for the (later) Panegyric on God, line 2 pavaḷa, Kuṟun. had no need to use either "tukir" or "pavaḷam", PN. (already cited) and Patiṟṟ. employ the former word alone, as at 30:7 of the latter work :— இலங்குநீர் முத்தமொடு வார்துகிர் எடுக்கும். Cilap. employs the former at 7:18 தூசுந் துகிரும் ஆரமும் அகிலும் tūcum *tukirum* āramum akilum ; but there are two references therein to pavaḷam and three to pavaḷam. The later words are gaining ground. Paripā. has forgotten "tukir", but employs "pavalam" at 19:87 and "pavaḷam" at 11:101. In the same boat are Maṇi. which employs "pavaḷam" once and "pavaḷam" eleven times and Cīv, which employs the former 13 times and the latter 9 times : there is no reference in either work to "tukir". "Ceteris paribus", i.e. other things being equal, we should therefore give an earlier date to Paḷ. 259 than to Perunk. Paripā. Maṇi or Cīv. on this ground alone. But conviction comes only by the study of a mass of words. On the other hand, it will be unwise to overload the canvas or overcrowd the painting. Hence I shall list below the words I have studied, but give the references generally from Pal. alone.

47. teṅku = the cocoanut, 34b, 216d (in both bases the fruit).

48. teruḷ = to become clear, later teḷi, C., 284b.

49. tēcu = a praiseworthy or glorious deed, 285b, புகழிற்குக் காரணமாகிய செயல்.

50. nārāyam = a type of arrow, called "nārāyaṇam", Com. Pal. 50d.

51. paṭu = abundant, 247c (Com. mikunta), 251a (mikka nii poruntiya).

52. payir[1] (noun) = a fault, kuṟṟam C., 259b.

53 payir[2] (verb) = to call (alaikkum, Com.), 260c.

54. pāṭu = (1) eminence, strength, perumai, 71d and at 303d valimai, Commentary.
(2) state, condition, takaimai, Com., 300a,b,c.

55. pāyiram = a promise of assistance for help rendered, 249c : *very unusual.*

56. pāru or pār = to spread rays, vīcu, Com. 229a. Cf. Nāl. 151a.

In this connexion must be noted the exact identity of the first five cīr (out of the 15 in any veṇpā stanza) in Nāl. 151a-b and Paḷ. 229a-b. Both run thus :—

அங்கண் விசும்பின் அகல்நிலாப் பாரிக்கும்
திங்களும் .... Fully one-third of the two stanzas from the two works is identical; clearly one is copied from the other.

57. puṭai = to beat, thrash, aṭi, 45c, 111c in the Paḷ. (unless otherwise noted).

58. pullam = a bull, āṉ ēṟu, 261c-d (twice).

59. pētaimai = ignorance, the folly of a simpleton, a very frequent word in Paḷ. (aṟiyāmai, Com.) at 267b, 187b, 292a. cf. pētai, at Paḷ. 93c.

60. "peyar", the verb "to separate", "to differentiate" is the origin of the noun peyar = "a name"; and

by an obvious semantic change it comes to mean "fame" as well. Both the noun and the verb remain "peyar" for nearly a thousand years of recorded Tamil literature, down to about 400 A.D. Thus in the Kuṟun. Aka. Puṟa. Kalit. Tol. (Eḷ. Col. and Por.) it remains always "peyar". Cf. Kuṟun. 83:2 ; AN. 67:9 ; Kalit. 17:21 ; Tol. Eḷ. 210h ; Col. 18a ; Por. 574 ; 603:1 ; 607:2 ; 613:2, for *the nouṉ* ; and Kuṟun. 309:4 and 9 other instances ; AN. 38:5 ; PN. 3:14 (twice) ; Kalit. 17:21 ; Tol. Por. 107:3 ; 111:28 ; 150:28 ; 169:1 ; 262:2 ; 301:2 ; 652:1 for *the verb*. At Cīv. 182c, however, we see the contracted form "pēr" = name ; and at Cīv. 1764b, we note the analogous verbal form "pērttu". The Kuṟal has the nominal form "peyar" four times and "pēr" four times. Paḷ. 189c and 239 have "pēr". This is significant. Nāl. 175b has "pēr" too : *பேரும் பிறிதாகித் தீர்த்தமாம்.*

61. "pai" = softness, freshness, greenness, 252c, 359c. At Nīti Neṟi Viḷakkam 61d and Fabricius Dictionary, p. 663, *green and lush vegetation* is termed "painkūḷ" and equated with "payir". We may suggest that "pai" and "pay-ir" are intimately connected in origin. The "-ir" suffix in the latter word is probably the old suffix of plurality that we find in such early Tamil words as kēḷ-ir = intimate friends ; puttēḷ-ir = gods ; peṇṭ-ir = women ; makaḷ-ir = girls ; vēḷ-ir = tribal chiefs ; putuv-ir = newcomers.

62. pol = to shine, be brilliant, splendid, good 31a (twice), 47a 119b. In early Tam. we find pol-am = the shining thing, gold, later poṉ.

63. pōṟṟu = to reflect, consider, 291b. This is a *peculiar* meaning : generally this verb means "to protect", Com. ṗatu ko, as at Tolkā. 156f of Eḷ. ; Tol. Col. 115e, 462c (pōṟṟal vēṇṭum) ; Kuṟun. 275:6 ; PN. 217:4 ; Paripā. 4:52 ; 16:22 ; 20:72 ; Cīv. 338a 1720d. Another meaning of pōṟṟu is to praise, vāḷttu, C.

64. malai = to contradict, be in opposition, Com. māṟu-paṭu, Paḷ. 295b.

65. maṉ = 1. to stand firm, 119b, prob. the origin of maṉṉaṉ = king.

= 2. to be abundant, 235b.

66. maṉṟu = to punish severely, extirpate, uproot completely, 288d.

67. mā = 1. (as noun) riches, Com. celvam, 218b.

2. (as uriccol or adjective) splendid, great, Com. ciṟanta, 249a.

68. māṉ = horse, 282b. In modern Tamil māṉ = deer.

69. yāṇṭu = time, Com. kālam, Pal. 101d (twice). Now the word has become " āṇṭu ", losing the initial " y ": the meaning now is " a year ".

70. vā (for vāvu) at 282b = to romp in, Com. tāviccellu. This line is quoted under No. 20.

71. viyaṅ koḷ = to receive an order from a king or other superior, Paḷ. 167a, 168b, 169b, 267a; likewise at Kuṟun. 114:3; Patiṟṟ. 54:15; Cilap. 9:78; etc. Tolkā. El. 210d. Col. 226c and Naṉṉūl 145d turn the corresponding noun " viyaṅ kōḷ " into a grammatical term.

72. " viṉai " = deed, action, " vēlai " Com., at Paḷ. 77a, 274b, 350c. In modern Tam. this word too has gone out of use, except in philosophy and adage: தன்வினை தன்னைச்சுடும், or in grammar. So greatly is this word obsolete that in modern colloquial Tamil " viṉaikkēṭu " has become " miṉakkēṭu ", at least in the Jaffna Peninsula of Ceylon.

73. veḷḷam = a large number, 297a: likewise in Com. on Tolkā. 393 of Eḷ. Aiṅk 281a; Patiṟṟ. 63 : 20.

74. vēli = *a knot*, kaṭṭu, 219d, *not a fence*, as normally.

75. "āṟṟu ". This is a very favourite word in the Paḷ. It means :—

(a) to perform successfully, 1a, 223a.

(b) to progress very far (on the road to success), 1b, 4a, 287a, 291a. Here the vin̲ai eccam " ār̲r̲a " = very greatly, " mikavum ", Com.

(c) to bear the whole thing with equanimity, 47c, 222a.

According to a very ancient *alveolar/retroflex* (sounds) *alternance,* which I have detected in about 150 early Tamil words, Paḷ. employs not only the alveolar " ār̲r̲u " but also the retroflex " āḷ " and " āṭu " to mean " performing successfully ".

Thus Paḷ. 31c-d அறியும் பெரிது ஆள்பவனே பெரிது.

Thus Paḷ. 150c-d இளேயோனே ஆயினும் மூத்தானே ஆடு மகன்.

In the first case, the Com. reads எல்லாவற்றையும் தன்வயமாக நடத்தும் அவனே; in the second instance ஆடுமகன் is explained as தொடங்கிய செயலேச் சோம்பலின்றி முடிப்பவன் ... அங்ஙனஞ் செயலே ஆற்றுவோன்.

I-B MORE IMPORTANT AND INSTRUCTIVE THAN THE INVESTIGATION OF SOLITARY WORDS IS THE STUDY OF PECULIAR PHRASES, SUCH AS :—

1. ām - āl - ō, Paḷ. 61a, Com. ākumō = could that be ?

2. iḷaittatu ikavā, Paḷ. 295c. Nāḷ. 6a has a quite similar phrase : இளைத்த நாள் எல்லே இகவா

3. iḻi taru, Paḷ. 258c = to descend. Both the word " iḻi " and its combination with the auxiliary verb " taru " are characteristic of the ancient texts, as testified by Kur̲un. (i.e. Kur̲untokai) 95 : 1 ; 134 : 6 ; 200 : 3 ; 284 : 7 ; 332 : 5 ; 339 : 3 ; Nar̲r̲. 347 : 7 (Nar̲r̲ = Nar̲r̲iṇai) ; AN. 138 : 8 ; 162 : 23 ; 282 : 10 ; 312 : 4 ; 322 : 9 ; Kur̲iñcip. 54.

4. poruḷ allār, Paḷ. 56b, 284a.

5. muṉ iṉṉā, Paḷ. 263d. If these words meant "very unpleasant", as they often mean in the classical work, Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu, one of the 18 minor classics, i.e. if the word "muṉ" in this context had come to mean "mikuti" = much, very, as it came to signify in the 8th century A.D., then the Paḷ. itself would have to be dated in that century. But both the context and the Com. give this phrase in Paḷ. a different and earlier meaning. The relevant words are :— இகல்வேந்தன் தன்னை நலிந்து தனக்குறுதி கூறலால், முன் இன்னு மூத்தார்வாய்ச் சொல். The Com. too reads : முன்னே துன்பந் தரும், பின்னே மிக்க இன்பத்தை அளிக்கும், like learning acc. to N.N.V. 3a. May we not rather see in Paḷ. 263d the original phrase, which the later works, like Iṉṉā Nāṟpatu and Iṉiyavai Nāṟpatu have borrowed and modified in in meaning, just as Nāl. 294d (Nāl. = Nālaṭi) மானம் உடையார் மதிப்பு reappears fully at Iṉiyavai Nārp. 5d? The latter also reads : மானம் உடையார் மதிப்பு.

I-C STILL MORE IMPORTANT FOR OUR PURPOSE IS THE GRAMMATICAL PATTERN DISPLAYED BY THE PAL. WE TAKE A FEW INSTANCES :—

1. *"kaḷ" as the pluralising particle.* Tolkā. Col. 169 prescribes this for "ahriṇai" (Tam. neuter) nouns in these words :—kaḷḷotu civaṇum avviyal peyarē. At the same time Col. 7 ignores it in connexion with "uyartiṇai" nouns. On the other hand, Naṉṉūl 278 prescribes "kaḷ" for both types of nouns. So do all later grammars. From this it is evident that it was only gradually that this pluralising particle spread from the neuter to the other type of nouns. In fact, in the earliest texts it is not employed even for the neuter nouns : the plural of nouns is sensed from the context, or from the form of the verb or predicate, or by the use of other particles, like "ir". We note that *on the whole* the Pal. follows the earlier pattern, as at 7d பாம்பு அறியும் பாம்பின கால் = snakes (neuter in Tamil) alone recognise the legs of (other) snakes. Here not once is the pluralising particle "kaḷ" employed. Likewise at 78c puḷ = birds, C. பறவைகள். There are cases, however,

where the Paḷ. employs this particle, as at 197a karumaṅkaḷ = actions, Com. ceyalkaḷ, a neuter noun, and even for uyartiṇai nouns, at least *once*, namely piḷḷaikal = children, at 264c. But it may be claimed that in several languages, where "men" are masculine, "child" is neuter, as in German, which employs "der Mann" but "das Kind". It was only in the Tam. Kāvyas of the 6th to 9th centuries A.D. that "kaḷ" began to be employed on a large scale for uyartiṇai nouns too, as "yāṅkaḷ" at Cilap. 11 : 171 ; Cīv. 1793b.

2. "ēl" for "āyil". In several languages (a or) ā+i = ē. Thus in Sanskrit mahā + indra = mahēndra etc. In Tam. too we notice the same phenomenon. Thus at Paḷ. 11b eṟṟ – ēl = ettaṉmaittu āyil, Com. = of what type, it may be i.e. were I to state it. This was the origin of those *prohibitions* learnt by Tamilian children, like iyalvatu karav-ēl, īvatu vilakkēl, which were at first conditional clauses, followed by naṉṟu = "it would be good" in word, intonation or gesture. The second maxim here quoted meant at first : "if you do not prevent others from doing charity, that would be good". Next it came to mean : "do not prevent others from doing charity". This development into the Neg. Imperative of "ēl" is later than its employment as a "conditional particle", as it is used in Paḷ. e.g. 11b.

3. āyiṉāl = accordingly, at Paḷ. 4c : this is a peculiar usage.

4. āyiṉum < ēṉum, exactly as āyil < ēl, in 2 above. We come across āyiṉum at Paḷ. 37c, 75c, 177c, 245c, and ēṉum, ibidem, 85a. Still another peculiar formation, employed in the same sense, is "āṉum", explained as "āyiṉum" in the Com. at Paḷ. 11a, i.e. in the line previous to the one cited in 2 above : கற்றானும் கற்றார்வாய்க் கேட்டானும் இல்லாதார்.

5. āy > ai. Readers of Telugu are familiar with the phenomenon that where Tam. employs the particle "āy",

Tel. employs "ai"*. A similar alternance obtains between Mod. Tam. and Old Tam. Thus Kuṟun. 342 : 7 paṇpiṉai (O. Tam.) = iyalputaiy – āy, Com. (Mod. Tam.) ; Puṟa Nā. 46 : 2 marukaṉ-ai (O. Tam.) = marapil uḷḷ-āy (Com. Mod. Tam.).

Consider this line :—

நெடியது காண்கிலாய்; நீ எளியை, நெஞ்சே!

Thus at Paḷ. 46a, we find both forms, *side by side*, in the same line, as above.

6. The suffix "īka" at Pal. 245c is quite peculiar. These are the relevant words :—கொல்தலையே ஆயினும் கொண்டீக. The Com. renders the last word "koṇṭ-īka" as "koḷka" = "take", as the polite imperative, sometimes termed the Tam. optative, which generally employs the particle "-ā" to form this mood. The unexplained part of this word is therefore the middle, "īku". Fortunately we possess at Aka. Nā. 124 : 3 this very particle :— சென்றீகென்ப. The Com. explains ceṉṟīka as ceṉṟu aruḷka, thus equating "īka" to "aruḷka" = bestow, grant. But in actual fact, the auxiliary verb "īka", suffixed to the main verb "ceṉṟu", has lost its *full* significance of "bestowing", or granting, in the AN. instance. In the Pal. instance cited above and at Kuṟaḷ 1268a veṉṟīka vēntan = let the king win victories, "īka" has lost this signification *absolutely*. This is significant for the age of the three works concerned, namely Aka Nā (AN.), Kuṟaḷ and Palamoli.

7. The negative imperative ending in "-al" is the origin of (and therefore much earlier than) the optative (2nd pers.) which ends in "-aṟka" (= al + ku + a). It is the latter form that we meet with constantly in Paḷ., as at 64b moḻiyaṟka ; at 273b uraiyaṟka. These words mean : do not say ; do not utter.

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* Tel. aina = Tam. āyina ; Tel, -ayinavi = Tam, -āyinavai.

8. ṭum, as the suffix of the 1st Pers. pl. of the Present tense, as at Paḷ. 229b kāṇṭum = kāṇkiṉṟōm = we see. The first line of this stanza is in IA, 56.

9. ṭum, as the suffix of the 1st pers. pl. of the *Indefinite* tense, as aṟitum, Paḷ. 74b = we come to know ; vēṇṭutum, Paḷ. 273b = we desired and desire. Cf. āṭutum, Nāl. 332b ; verūutum, Kalit. 17 : 2 = we shall bathe ; we fear, respectively.

10. "kīṟp" — This is a very ancient cāriyai, found already at Kuṟun. 22 : 2 pirikiṟp-avar = piripavar, Com. ; at Kalit. 39 : 38 paṭar-kiṟp-īr = naṭappīr, Com. ; at Kalit. 39 : 40 karak-kiṟp-eṉ = maṟaippēn, Com. This particle is found likewise at Pal. 218b potikiṟpār = karattalaicceyvār = they will hide, and at Pal. 294a veṉṟu aṭukiṟpārai = tammaikkolla vallavarkaḷai = those capable of overpowering and oppressing them. From the above instances it is clear that this particle denotes the further-aorist tense in ancient Tamil. Slightly later in time we come across the analogous particle, "-kiṟk", as at Nāl. 62d muṭi-kiṟk-um, 352d tēr-kiṟk-um.

11. Intimately connected with "-kiṟp"- is the particle "pu", which *in Old Tam.* converted the verbal root into the viṉai eccam of the past tense, in preference to the Mod. Tam. particle "tu". The forms modelled on "ceypū" are more frequently employed than those modelled on "ceytū" or "ceykū" and cover more than half the instances of the past absolutive or viṉai eccam in the Eight Anthologies. Therefrom was formed the 3rd Pers. pl. aorist, modelled on "ceypa", according to Tolkā. Col. 206, which prescribes the personal affixes :

"அர் ஆர் பஎன வரூஉம் மூன்றும்
பல்லோர் மருங்கிற் படர்க்கைச் சொல்லே."

This then is the origin of the particle "pa" in such words as the following :—

(a) enpa, Kurun. 39 : 3 ; 74 : 5 ; 76 : 2 ; 87 : 2 ; 136 : 1 ; 204 : 1 ; 213 : 6 ; 228 : 4 ; 246 : 4 ; Aka Nā. 36 : 12 ; 76 : 6 ; 96 : 10 ; 116 : 10 ; 124 : 3 ; 186 : 14 ; 195 : 5 ; 216 : 6 ; 246 : 7 ; 266 : 9 ; 336 : 12 ; Pura Nā. 71 : 3 ; Aiṅk. 67 : 3 ; 152 : 4 ; 369 : 3 ; 467 : 4 ; Kalit. 46 : 19.

Tolkā. El. employs " enpa in its text 18 times ;
" Col. " " " 35 " ;
" Por. " " " 85 " ;
the Kuraḷ 24 times. Nāl, however, has " enpa " only once, at 250c and employs the later form " enpar " instead, at 282a. It employs " karpa " at 135c = they learn or study.

(b) molipa = they say, 20 times in the Kurun. ; at Narr. 290 : 9 etc., Aka Nā. 216 : 6 etc. ; at Tolkā. El. 20 times, Col. 7 times, Por. 57 times.

(c) On a minor scale this usage persisted even to the time of the Nannūl, which has " nērpa " at 386d. We now note that this ancient usage is pretty common — in Paḷ. as

(d) kāṇpa, at 197d = kāṇpārkaḷ, Com = they will see.

(e) Ceypa, at 249c = ceyyum, Com. = they will do.

(f) pōḷpa, at 8d = piḷappar, Com. = men will split, cleave.

(g) mārupa, at 77c = viṭṭu nīṅkuvārkaḷ = they will desert it. But it is not so widespread in Paḷ. as in Kurun. AN and Tol.

12. " -min ". It occurs at Paḷ. 108b ceymmin = ceyyuṅkaḷ, C = do ye. This particle and its origin have been the subject of controversy. According to Tolkā. Col. 224, Nannul 145c and 337, this " min " is an affix denoting the 2nd Pers. pl. impv. But it seems more scientific to regard this as the wedging together of the two particles " um " and " in ". Let us first take the former particle " um ". Compare īn-ummō at Pura Nā. 130 : 2 with īn-marō at Pura Nā. 74 : 7 ; en-um, at Tol. Eḷ. 25a, 61a, 62b, 73, 322b,

352 and eṉṉumō at Naṟṟ. 176 : 4 with eṉmō at Kuṟun. 392 : 6 ; pōl-um at Kuṟun. 222 : 4 ; 389 : 5 etc. with pōṉm, Aka Nā. 248 : 9 ; 332 : 15 ; Puṟa Nā. 19 : 6 ; uṟaiyunar at Kuṟun. 65 : 4 with uṟainar at Kuṟun. 145 : 4 ; Aka Nā. 67 : 18 ; puṇar-um-ār at Naṟṟ. 304 : 5 with puṇarmār at Neṭunal. 67 ; Paripā. 11 : 67. In each of the pairs compared, both words have the identical meaning. In the first, however, there is the particle " um " : this is *replaced* in the second by " m ". This is known as the syncope of " um " into " m " and appears in more than a thousand instances in the Eight Anthologies and in Tolkā. in such words as eṉmaṉār, Eḷ. 6b etc. ; ceymmaṉ, Eḷ. 210c ; Col. 222c ; Puṟa Nā. 150 : 13 ; ceymmē, PN. 46 : 8 ; kēṇmō, Cīv. 1597a ; koṇmō ; Kuṟun. 114 : 3 ; Aiṅk, 78 : 4 ; Ceṉmē, Naṟṟ. 395 : 10 ; AN. 176 : 26 ; 396 : 19 ; PN. 133 : 7 ; ceṉmō, Kuṟun. 238 : 5 ; 275 : 2 ; Naṟṟ. 358 : 7 ; 365 : 5 ; AN. 32 : 17 ; PN. 381 : 5 ; the above words are from eṉ, cey, kēḷ, koḷ, cel, respectively. *Nillum - ē < niṉmē, Naṟṟ, 300 : 12 ; *nō-um < nōm, Kuṟun. 4 : 1, 4 ; puraimē, Kalit. 54 : 20 ; muṭimē, Col. 433, 438, 270b from muṭiyumē ; similarly moḻimē, Kuṟun. 51 : 6 ; moḻimō, Kuṟun. 2 : 2 ; and *varumō < *varmō < *vammō,* by assimilation, PN. 180 : 9 ; 221 : 10 ; 281 : 7. The same word occurs at AN. 312 : 8 ; 323 : 7 and elsewhere. Now a comparison of this word with *vammiṉ,* kalit. 104 : 63 ; Cīv. 2988c ; and of koṇm-ō above with koṇm-iṉ, Poruḷ. of Tolkā. 425 : 2, would readily suggest the identity of the verbal base in each instance. Hence the existence of the syncope is assured. We must regard " um " as the affix, which, like " ir " and " īr ", denotes the 2nd Pers. pl. impv. The " iṉ ", which is wedged thereto, is the old particle, which connotes " now ", " at once ", as at Kuṟun. 287 : 2 ; Mullaip. 16 ; Neṭunal. 155 ; Nāl. 55a, 29b (twice) ; in each instance the Com. explains " iṉ " as " ippoḻutu " = just now.

A close study of Nāl. 6c " vaḷaṅkumiṉ " (contrast " nāḷai " = tomorrow) and of Nāl. 7c " ākumiṉ " ; 36c " oruvumiṉ " ; 36d " maruvumiṉ " will confirm this view.

With the fusion of the Tam. particle, "in" meaning "now" with the previous imperative, *compare* the fusion of the Hebrew word "na" = "now" with the previous imperative, "hoshea" = save (us). The two words were soon wedged together into "Hosheana", at first a joyful prayer, then a jubilant shout, like the Saivite "Harōharā". In the Vulgate, the Hebrew word was transformed into "Hōsanna", the form in which it is most familiar to the European and Asian. Coming to a language closer to Tamil than Hebrew, namely, Telugu, we note the fusion of the honorific affix, aṇḍi = sir, to the impv. e.g. koṭṭ-aṇḍi = strike. In the instance cited above from Paḷ. 108b, namely "ceymmin", we note also the doubling of "m" as compensation for the syncope of "ceyum" (= do ye) into "ceym". The fact that in Tamil writing the consonant and the following vowel are written as one letter, e.g. not as two letters, as in English e.g. "mi", facilitates the wrong or false divisions that later grammarians made, such as "min, mō, mati, mār". In each of these cases, "m" goes with the previous syllable, resulting in the particles: "in, ō, ati, ār respectively. The incidence of this "in" in the manner aforesaid is most frequent in the early Tamil texts down to about 900 A.D.

II. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF CERTAIN STANZAS: PERSONS MENTIONED.

1. Pāri and Pēkan. At Pura Nā. 158 Peruñcittiranār eulogizes "the Seven" Vaḷḷals or paragons of generosity indirectly and Kumaṇan directly: at line 17 எழுவர் மாய்ந்த பின்றை he shows clearly that Kumaṇan lived shortly after "the Seven", including பறம்பிற் கோமான் பாரி (l. 4) and பெருங்கல் நாடன் பேகன் (l. 12). The reader should read the whole poem. At Paḷ. 74, however, its author speaks of these two "Vaḷḷal" as having lived generations earlier and of his having come to hear of their generous deeds through ear-borne tradition: this is very significant for our purpose.

'முல்லைக்குத் தேரும் மயிலுக்குப் போர்வையும்
தொல்லை அளித்தாரைக் கேட்டறிதும்.'

Compare the commentary: முன்னுளில் கொடுத்தவர்களைக் கேள்வி வாயிலாக அறிந்தோம் ...... முல்லைக்குத்தேரீந்தான் பாரி. மயிலுக்குப் போர்வையீந்தான் பேகன். Pāri donated a chariot to the wind-tossed jasmine shrub as a support: Pēkan donated his cloak to the peacock shivering in the cold. Not alone this: but in the course of generations, while their gesture of heroism has been praised by all, a certain element of a simpleton's quality, akin to folly, therein has come to be criticised by the learned, including this author. None the less, in the truly great, like these two "Vaḷḷals", such an extreme simplicity (ari maṭam) tends only to magnify their greatness, perhaps as a foil set behind a gem: அறிமடமும் சான்றோர்க்கு அணி. This is the proverb proper.

2. The Cōḷa king, Karikālan, is mentioned more frequently than any other potentate in our Book of Proverbs. At 6a-c, his memorable judgment, like that of the Jewish king, Shalomon, is eulogised with considerable pride by the poet :— .... இளமையோன் என்ற நரைமுது மக்கள் உவப்ப—நரை முடித்துச் சொல்லால் முறைசெய்தான் சோழன்... This young king agreeably surprised his aged ministers not only by his gray wig and solemn demeanour but also by his solid judgment, coupled with a keen discernment into the merits of the case from the words alone of the contending litigants.

Therefrom the poet draws the inevitable conclusion, which is the proverb proper in this instance: குலவிச்சை கல்லாமல் பாகம்படும். Here "vidyā" in Sk. has through Pāli and Prākrit become Tam. "viccai". "The cleverness peculiar to a family will be found in its members without even a preliminary training": here the author alludes to the centuries-old Cōḷa dynasty that preceded Karikālan and the peculiar circumstances under which the latter mounted this throne after years of exile or imprisonment

from his childhood days. This is not the only reference to this king in our work, the Paḷamoḷi. At 230a-b, the poet recalls another anecdote about the same king, just before his ascending the throne, and relates how the royal elephant, released from its pen or enclosure at Cīkāḷi or Kaḷumalam, picked him out and brought him from Karuvūr in the Cēra country to be crowned king of the Cōḷas and thus to replace his wicked paternal uncle :—

'கழுமலத்தில் யாத்த களிறும் கருவூர்
விழுமியோன் மேற்சென் றதனால்......'

A still earlier anecdote is mentioned at 239a-c. The poet alludes to the childhood of Karikālan̲, son of Parāntaka, to his leg "being singed" at the hands of the usurper, to his escape from the burning home owing to the help of his maternal uncle, the poet, Irum Piṭarttalai, and his regaining his sceptre with the poet's assistance ; the author of Paḷ. seems to be an ardent admirer of this earlier poet and still more of that poet's nephew, Karikālan̲ :

'சுடப்பட்டு உயிர்உய்ந்த சோழன் மகனும்
பிடர்த்தலைப் பேரானைப் பெற்றுக்—
கடைக்கால் செயிர்அறு செங்கோல் செலீஇயினன்...'

The rest of this article will form its Part 2 in the next year's issue.

CONCLUSION

I shall conclude with the following succinct remarks :

(1) The edition of the Paḷamoḷi (Paḷ.) that I have used here is the first edition (Nov. 1948), published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Society, கழக வெளியீடு 475, மூலமும் உரையும்.

(2) The system of transliteration and signs is that utilised by the Madras Lexicon (M.L.), Vol. VI, *Appendix,* page 68, except that I use *h* instead of *k* to express the Tamil āytam.

(3) The abbreviations I employ are either those employed by the M.L. Vol. VI, *Appendix*, pages 61-63, 69-96, or those that I have explained in the course of my dissertation, like AN. for Aka Nā., PN. or Pura. for Pura Nā. etc., except for ibidem = " in the same work ".

(4) Any one who has carefully read through *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 4, page 336, must have been struck by the citation at the bottom of that page, starting with the words வெந்திறல் கடுவளி. It has *nothing* to do with the subject under discussion, which is Nālaṭi, stanza 39. In fact, the printer begins his citation with *its* first line in English transliteration. Then suddenly he brings in stanza 39 of the Kuṟun. complete, in Tamil, possibly because the article in question is about the Kuṟuntokai anthology. On the next page, at the top, he gives the remaining three lines of Nāl. 39, likewise in English transliteration. To forestall such mistakes on the part of the printer, I have, in my present article, given the general meaning of a verse in English but written out the line, verse or stanza in Tamil, sometimes additionally in English.

(5) The Kuṟun., Paripā., Maṇi(mekalai), Cīv(akacintāmaṇi) and to some extent PN. are the only classics so far edited somewhat critically by native Tamil scholars; the Kuṟaḷ, Nāl(aṭi) and Tiruvāc(akam) by European ones. *The edition of Paḷ. that I use has no index whatever.* In the remaining works the index, where there is one, is woefully inadequate. Only the more difficult words are given therein. Even here, the *page* alone is cited, *not the line.* As a page consists mostly of 42 lines and each line of 8 to 9 words, there is considerable loss of time and unnecessary hardship in tracing out any word therein. There is a further complication. Even Dr. U. V. Sāmināthaiyar *does not*, in his index to his editions, *distinguish between the word and its meaning.* In his index to the Kuṟun. and in that to the PN. he has listed 4 and 17 words respectively with "ca-" as the initial syllable and attri-

buted 6 incidences to the former work and 47 incidences to the latter. After a minute investigation of every one of these 53 instances, sometimes through many lines of the poem concerned, often through all, I found that the vast majority of these references are not to the word in question but to other Tamil words *with that meaning.* At the end I obtained a much shorter list, wherein Kuṟun. had only one word, "cakaṭam", which occurred only once; PN. had only three words, with a total of 12 references to such words *in the actual text.* The remaining 40 were *references to the Commeṉtaries* (C or Com.). *All my references* to Pāḷ. and to the other works *are to the actual texts,* unless I expressly state otherwise. Such a research is dry indeed; I have accordingly tried to make its results palatable by adopting a golden mean between excess and defect. Thus for instance, I have before me every single reference to "eṉpa" and "moḻipa" in Tol(kāppiyam); as they would cover two to three pages, I have given only the total number of such references in its El(uttu), Col, and Poruḷ. So for the rest.

One Hundred Years of Dravidian Comparative Philology

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

It is now just one hundred years since the unique work, called "*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*" was published by Bishop *Robert Caldwell* in 1856.[1] By this outstanding work he created a new branch of Oriental philology, the comparative philology of the Dravidian languages. Now, after a hundred years, notwithstanding the fact that, in comparison to other branches of Oriental linguistics (e.g. classical Indology or Semitistics), the Dravidian philology is "still in its infancy",[2] its evolution, nevertheless, has reached such forms and such significance that it is necessary to consider the past developments and to reflect on its future.

1

The time before Caldwell may be characterized as the period of pioneer work. It is important to notice that the Europeans got acquainted with Tamil sooner than with Sanskrit; that fact is, however, natural, since Tamil was a living language and also because the Portuguese came to South India sooner than the other colonisers to Northern India. It is, however, equally important that the newcomers started soon to cultivate their practical knowledge of Tamil, the main and the most cultured representative of the Dravidian languages, and to dedicate their attention to this language also from the philological point of view.

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[1] R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, London 1856, 2nd ed. 1875, 3rd ed. 1913.

[2] Cf. *Note on Dravidian Morphology* in Acta Orientalia XX by F. B. J. Kuiper, p. 252.

If we overlook, on the whole, at the prehistory of these interests which was characterized by the first books printed in Tamil in the years 1577 [3] and 1579 (by Father *Anrique Anriquez,* a member of the Jesuit order),[4] we must, however, consider the year 1672 as an outstanding year, because, at the time, *Philip Baldaeus* published a brief Tamil grammar in his " Truthful and Detailed Description of the Celebrated East Indian Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel " in Amsterdam.[5] This work is followed by several others, written by various Catholic missionaries : the first dictionary of Tamil and Portuguese (by *Antem da Proenca* in 1679), a further grammar by *Baltazar da Costa* (1680), and, finally, the most significant work from the pen of a Protestant missionary, *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, " Grammatica Damulica ",* Halae Saxonum, 1716.[6] This is also the first Tamil book printed in Europe. To this period belong also the unique works of the greatest of these pioneers, *Constant Joseph Beschi S.J.,* who knew Tamil to such a point of perfection that he wrote-apart from other works (as an epic masterpiece called *Tēmpāvaṇi*) -still perhaps the best grammar of High Tamil, based on a profound knówledge of the then accessible texts and of native Tamil grammars.[7]

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[3] Cf. M. C. Venkatacami, *Kiriṣtavamum Tamilum,* Madras 1938, p. 24 : " *inta nulukku kiristuva vetopatecam* (Flos Sanctorum) *enpatu peyar.* " Also Tamil Lexicon, I, p. XXXV f.

[4] *Doctrina Christiana (Kiristava Vanakkam),* a maneira de dialogo, feita em Portugal pello P. Mascos Jorge, da Companhia da Jesu : Transladada èm lingua Malavar ou Tamul pello P. Anrique Anriquez. Cochin 1579.

[5] Philip Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel,* ... Amsterdam 1672. *Malabarsche Spraak-konst.* Cf. Buitenen—Ganeshsundaram, A 17th Century Dutch Grammar of Tamil, BDCRI, 14. 3. pp. 168—182

[6] B. Ziegenbalg, *Grammatica Damulica* quae per varia paradigmata, rēgulas & necessarium vocabulorum apparatum, viam brevissimam monstrat, qua Lingua Damulica seu Malabarica, quae inter Indos orientalés in usu est, hucusque in Europa incognita fuit, facille disci possit. Halae Saxonum, Literis & impensis Orphanostropei MDCCXVI.

[7] Cf. especially the following works of Father Béschi :

(1) *Clavis humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis.* Ms. cca 1730, ed. Tranquebar 1876.

Among the first, who worked on the Tamil language, we have found also a Czech, *Carolus Przikryl* of the Society of Jesuits, in whose works the great Czech linguist *Dobrovsky* has taken a large interest. Przikryl lived in India from 1748 till 1762. *Dr. P. Poucha* from the Oriental Institute, Prague, found in Przikryl's manuscript of Konkani grammar also several pages of unfinished Tamil grammar. The roots of Czech Tamilian studies thus ranged up to the middle of the eighteenth century.[8]

Should we reflect over these first scholars and should we consider when Europe became acquainted with the Dravidian languages and with old Tamil literature, we are justified in asking in astonishment what were the motives which resulted afterwards in the Dravidian languages being neglected for such a long time on the verge of linguistic science and why even the most professed Indologists have not shown interest in them.

Apart from the interior blocking factor, which is due to the fact that the Dravidian languages are not easy, that four of them have vast, rich and ancient literatures whereas the others are languages spoken by " primitives " and badly reported, there are also further causes for this indifference, more objective and of various external reasons :

1. It was assumed that the Sanskrit-speaking invaders of Northwest India were people of a high and virile culture who found in India only culturally feeble barbarians. At

(2) *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica* ubi de elegantiori linguae Tamulicae dialecto centamil dicta, cui adduntur Tamulicae poeseos rudiments ad usum missionarium Societatis Jesu, Ms. cca 1730. Ed. Trichinopoly 1917. Engl. translation 1882.

(3) *A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamul Language.* Transl. by G. W. Mahon, Madras 1848. Latin orig. Tranquebar 1728.

8 The fragment comprises a list of Tamil characters, pronunciation (unfinished), and a paragraph on the declination of nouns. It is based most probably upon the study of some older Tamil grammar, probably that of Beschi. C. Przikryl S.J., born in Bohemia 1718, in Goa from 1748—9 to 1762, died in Bohemia 1785. Cf. also K. Zvelebil, *A Czech Missionary of the 18th Century as Author of a Tamil Grammar,* Tamil Culture, IV, 4, October 1955.

that time, without the benefit of spectacular archaeological discoveries and other, e.g. epigraphic, sources, the earliest speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages were described as classical Greeks or Romans, prosperous bearers of a high civilization. In fact they were nomadic and barbarous looters and cattle-reivers, disrupting older civilizations and, on the other hand, being civilized by them.

2. The other cause of this deplorable attitude to the old inhabitants of India was the "romantic" strand which led to Sanskrit being regarded as, to use Mayrhofer's phrase, "die ur-ste aller Ur-sprachen"; in short, the Indo-European savages were the noblest of all savages.

3. This assumption led to the methodological tendency to find Indo-European etymologies for the greatest possible portion of the vocabularies of the Indo-European languages. The suggestion that the noble, not to say divine, Sanskrit, an example of purity and integrity could have some borrowings from Dravidian was unthinkable. In spite of this, we know now about five hundred important borrowings from Dravidian into Sanskrit, more or less securely proven, among them even several words from the Rigveda.[9]

Nowadays, the aspects are different, the general conception of Indian linguistics changes. On account of these changes, also, the Dravidian comparative philology has achieved important results. Now to return to the history of our branch of linguistic science.

I shall not expound upon every work and every scholar in the study of the Dravidian languages from the time before Caldwell. I want only to sketch a short characteristic of this work, of its meaning and importance for the future investigator. It is the work, done mostly under difficult conditions by Catholic and Protestant missionaries,

[9] This passage according to M. B. Emeneau, *Linguistic Pre-history of India*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 98-4, pp. 282-92.

especially these of the Society of Jesuits and also of Danish, German and Swedish missions. And to them our thanks are due.

In the first half of the 19th Century there were published several dictionaries, more grammars, important first editions of texts and translations from old literature of the great Dravidian languages, the first smaller monographic studies in magazines ;[10] and, at the same time, there began to be seen a slight interest in the so called non literary Dravidian languages.[11] The chief merit of Tamil studies of that time is due to *Johann Philip Fabricius* (in 1799 he published the outstanding "Tranquebar Dictionary"), *Charles Theofil Edward Rhenius* and *Dr. Graul.*[12] Graul had published an excellent grammar and in 1856, just a hundred years ago, the first great translation from Tamil into a European language was printed in Leipzig, Graul's German translation of the famous *Tirukkuṟaḷ*.

Graul also intended to found a *Bibliotheca Tamulica* in Germany, but his premature death prevented him to realize his ambition.

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10 Cf. the bibliography in J. Vinson, *Manuel de la Langue Tamoule*, Paris, 1903, p. 231 ff.

11 Frye's grammar of Kui in 1851, Letchmajee's *Introduction to Kui* in 1853, Leech's *Epitome of the Grammar of Brahui* in 1838, Lassens's article about Brahui in 1844, Elliott's and Manger's articles about Gond in 1847, a short grammar of Gond by Driberg and Harrison in 1849 etc.. The bibliography in this and the following foot-notes is far from being exhaustive. It gives only the more important, or very characteristic works for the respective epoch or problem. A complete bibliography see in Linguistic Survey of India, IV, Calcutta, 1906. Cf. also Constantin *Rögamey*, Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux elements anaryens dans la civilisation et des langues de l'Inde ; *Bull. de L'Ecole* Francaise d'Extreme Orient, XXXIV, 2, 1935, pp. 429—566.

12 Johann Philip Fabricius, *A Malabar and English Dictionary*, Tranquebar, 1799, reprinted in 1809 etc. Best edition of the Tamil Grammar by Rhenius is the fourth Madras 1888. Karl Graul, *Outline of Tamil Grammar*, Leipzig, 1855. Most important Tamil grammars of more recent times : G. U. Pope, A *Larger Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Madras 1858, Vinson's quoted Manuel, Paris 1903, J. Lazarus, *A Tamil Grammar for use in colleges*, Madras 1878, A. M. Mervart, *Grammatika Razgovornogo Tamil'-skogo Jazyka*, Moskva-Leningrad 1929, A. H. Arden, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil* 4th ed. by A. C. Clayton, Madras 1934, H. Beythan, *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, Leipzig 1943. K. Graul, *Der Kural des Tiruvalluver*, Leipzig-London, 1856.

The Kannada language had been studied by *Kittel*, and Malayalam by *Gundert*.[13] The works of all these Caldwell's predecessors and contemporaries have several common features ; to begin with, they follow the traditions of ancient native Tamil and Kannada grammarians ; or they base their studies on Latin and Greek models, eventually (later), on English grammar. Secondly : separate languages are studied and described mostly individually, also more for practical reasons.[14] Finally, the attention of these scholars is mostly dedicated to the great literary languages, especially to Tamil and Kannada, and the so called non-literary languages of Central and North-Eastern India are nearly ignored.

On the other hand, in some works, especially in short articles published mostly in ZDMG and in JA (also in IA), the beginnings of comparative investigation may be observed. Later, there have appeared also more or less brief descriptions of the non-literary languages (Kui, Gond). The comparison of different languages has been, however, performed upon a purely synchronic level—a defect, which it was not nevertheless possible in that phase to obliterate. There has been actually made no important attempt to study the history, the development of any Dravidian language, until some two decades ago.

Thus, the comparative treatment has been isolated from the investigation of the development of different languages. As already stated, it was quite natural : ancient texts were edited only insufficiently to the needs, the oldest Tamil and Kannada texts and inscriptions were inaccessible ; the third great literary language, Telugu, was almost ignored.

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13 Cf. Kittel's articles in IA I, II, III, Gundert's article about the Dravidian element in Sanskrit in ZDMG 1869, pp. 517—30. Also H. Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, Mangalore 1872.

14 With these more or less practical purposes cf. the words of Caldwell in the Preface (II. ed. p. vii) : " to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian languages themselves—for their own sake—. . . ."

2

Considering the state of evolution reached, about 1850, in the study of Indo-European and especially Indian languages, and the phase reached by the comparative and historical method in those years, we think of Caldwell's work as of a truly outstanding achievement; let us take into consideration that the historical and comparative method was only just born, hand in hand with the progress in Indo-European philology, and that the true great partisan and real founder of this method, *Franz Bopp,* was publishing the first edition of his Comparative Grammar during the period 1833—52 (the second, improved edition was published in 1857—61 !) : the significance of Caldwell's[15] comparative experiment appears to be unique. He united in a mighty stream tiny rivulets and rivers of scattered and split research. He laid the foundations, by his daring and singular act, to an entirely new branch of Oriental philology and opened the ways for future scholars.

In the preface to the second edition of his work Caldwell wrote that he worked "*con amore*". And he proceeds to say: "I have endeavoured to be accurate and thorough throughout, and to leave no difficulty unsolved, or at least uninvestigated; and yet ... I am conscious of many deficiencies, and feel sure that I must have fallen into many errors."

These certainly are rare words. Pages VI and VII of the Preface show us also the reasons why Caldwell has written his work, and the chief object of it: "It is now more than thirty-seven years since I commenced the study of Tamil, and I had not proceeded far in the study before I came to the conclusion that much light might be thrown on Tamil by comparing it with Telugu, Canarese, and the

[15] Robert Caldwell, born in Ireland in 1814, after studies in London came to Madras in 1838, 1841 became a clergyman of the Church of England, devoted his activities to missionary work in the Tirunelveli district, 1877 became the bishop of Tinnevelly, died 28th August, 1891.

other sister idioms ... It has been my chief object throughout this work to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian languages themselves—for their own sake, irrespective of theories respecting their relationship to other languages—by means of a careful intercomparison of their grammars." This aim he fully reached by his work, and more: in the preface he succeeded in laying out several theses, valid till now and of fundamental importance.

1. Dravidian languages are not only local dialects of one language, but absolutely independent though related languages, originating from a common hypothetic source (now being called the Proto-Dravidian).

2. Dravidian languages have not developed from Sanskrit.

3. Dravidian languages have an important share in the development of North Indian or Indo-Aryan languages.

4. Tamil has, generally said, preserved the best picture of the original state. Caldwell, however, stressed that this fact had not to be overvalued and that it was necessary to reach conclusions by studying all Dravidian languages.

Even now, after a hundred years, it is possible essentially to agree with these basic theses as well as with Caldwell's description of the fundamental structure of Dravidian grammar.

Caldwell's work does not lack the wise, generalizing view. Caldwell knew how to discover the truth under whole groups of individual and explanation-resisting phenomena. This quality of his resulted in a rare foresight based on careful observation of reality, and many a small perception and idea of his gained in significance and was confirmed by future investigation.[16]

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[16] An example: p. 339 of 2nd ed. "There is reason to suspect, also, that originally it (i.e. the Dravidian verb) had no present tense, but only a future and a past." The investigation of old Tamil texts has

There is one more of Caldwell's theses—though not yet absolutely confirmed, it seems nevertheless to be more than probable. It concerns his so called Scythian theory: upon the basis of grammatical analysis and comparisons Caldwell believed the Dravidian languages to be akin to Finno-Ugrian, though they have certain features in common with Indo-European. Caldwell, it is true, was not the first to formulate this thesis (*Rask* touched upon it somewhat generally). Caldwell however has reached his conclusions independently from Rask, and supported this thesis with fairly probable and detailed comments. Later this conception was again brought to life by *O. Schrader,*[17] and recently it has been supported convincingly by Prof. *Burrow*[18] upon the basis of striking lexical parallels. Caldwell has drawn from this thesis (and from some other points, too) the conclusion that the Dravidians came to India from the North-West. In the present time, however, some important attempts may be observed to show that the Dravidians came either from the South or from the South-West by the sea-route (cf. especially the inferences of *Fuerer-Haimendorf*).[19] In a very interesting connection the problem of

clearly shown, that this thesis is right; the old Tamil verb had, in its ancient period, rather aspects than tenses; a kind of future-aorist expressed action or state indefinite in any temporal sphere, the preterite expressed action or state definite, perfective in any temporal sphere (e. g. in future, or in present).

[17] O. Schrader, *Drawidisch und Uralisch*, Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, III, 1925, pp. 8—112. Further, W. von Hevesy, *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien*, Wien, 1932, A. F. Thyagaraju, *Glossarial Affinities between Finnish and Dravidian*, QJMS, XXI, 1930, pp. 125—28, E. H. Tuttle, *Finnic and Dravidian*, New Haven, 12 pp.

[18] T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies*, IV, BSOS, XI/2, 1944, pp. 328—56. Also, K. Bouda, *Dravidisch und Uralaltaisch*, Uralaltaische Jahrbücher, XXV, 1953, pp. 161—173.

[19] The reasoning of Ch. von Fuerer-Haimendorf (cf. *The Indo-Asian Culture*, II, 3, pp. 238—47), though very general, seems to be pretty sound. Two problems arise, however, instantly, as soon as we accept his correlation Iron-age megalith-builders = Dravidian-speakers and his date, viz. 500—300 B.C. First, the question of the Dravidian loanwords in Vedic Sanskrit and, second, the affinities in items between Dravidian and Uralian (the difference between the terms affinity and relationship has to be stressed here). There remain also the problems connecting with the Indus Valley seals and their language and its eventual (though not much probable) affinity to Proto-Dravidian. I believe it is hardly possible also to agree with the author's conception of Dravidian languages being so "closely akin" that they "appear rather as the branches of a group still in a state of organic growth than the remnants of a once larger complex".

the coming of the Dravidians has been mentioned by the Soviet archaeologist *S. P. Tolstov* in his book "*Po Sledam Drevnechorezmijskoj Civilizacii*", Moskva-Leningrad 1948.[20]

Caldwell's work was not only tremendously important for Dravidian philology: it has inspired *Beames* to start with the publishing of his "*Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of Ind.*"[21] in 1872. (Passim: the very term *Dravidian* has been coined first by Caldwell; he formed it according to the Sanskrit *āndhra-drāviḍa-bhāsyā* found in *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa,* 7th—8th cent. A.D.).

As has been perhaps already said, Caldwell's work is not void of errors. It could hardly be otherwise. I wish only to point out in general two basic defects in his work. He based his comparison mainly upon Tamil and the other great languages (but chiefly upon Tamil), using relatively slender material. Secondly, his comparison is actually mostly limited to synchronic comparison, his method being thus not historical and comparative, but only the latter. As has been already stressed, these defects are conditioned historically: it was actually impossible for Caldwell to work otherwise since only the careful investigation and description of all non-literary languages enables, in our days, the scholars to base their comparative studies truly widely, and only the editions of the most ancient texts enable a solid investigation of the development of different languages. Both these factors could be fulfilled only half a century later.[22]

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20 Cf. also Tolstov, *Drevnij Chorezm,* Moskva, 1948, pp. 65 and 350

21 J. Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,* 3 vol., London, 1872—1879.

22 Thus, e.g., Caldwell says (2nd ed., p. 130) that "the Kural of Tiruvalluvar...is generally regarded not only the best but the oldest Tamil poem of any extent which is now in existence. I think we should not be warranted in placing the date of the Kural later than the tenth century A.D." As seen also from some other pages of his work, he has regarded the 10th Century A.D. as the period of the origin of Tamil literature. It is natural, since it has been impossible for him to become acquainted with the splendid literature of the ancient Tamil lyrical anthologies, and, also, the rich epigraphic old Kannada and old Malayalam material has been inaccessible at his time.

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There was a second and third edition of Caldwell's work in 1875 and 1913 respectively. In the second half and mainly towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of the 20th cen. there arose a situation, favourable to awakening strong national feeling among South Indian people, on account of socio-economic factors and political conditions, a situation which led to a vigorous cultural and literary *rinascimento* in South India. Under the influence of this *rinascimento* modern national prose and poetry arose, connected with such names as *S. Bharathi* in Tamil literature, with the unique figure of *Veeresalingam* among the Telugus, with the birth of the journal *Vagbhushana* and the foundation of the *Kannada Literary Academy* in Karnatak, and with the first works of the Malayalam national poet *Vallathol.* More interesting for us is the reaction to this renaissance in the world of learning. The brilliant figure of *Dr. U. V. Swaminathaiyar* shines out on the horizon of the Tamil renaissance movement immortal in his merits for critical editions of voluminous texts of ancient literary periods. In the Kannada sphere, the *Epigrafia Carnatica* started and the publication of *Kavya Kalanidhi.* At the same time, the unique Kannada-English dictionary of *Kittel* was published. Further monographic studies by *Kittel, Vinson, Pope* and *Konow* are published; these and some other works show also interest in problems connected with the relation of Dravidian and Sanskrit. By the Sanskritists themselves, by the "classical" Indologists and Indo-Europeanists they are, however, sadly ignored.

Simultaneously, the description of non-literary languages does not lag behind: *Hahn* published the grammar of *Kurukh* (1900), *Williamson* and *Haid* investigated *Gond*[23] etc. Small comparative studies of course often took

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23 Hahn, *Kurukh Grammar*, Calcutta 1900; *Kurukh (Orao)—English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1903. Williamson, *Gondi Grammar and Vocabulary*, London, 1890. Haig, *A Comparative Vocabulary of the Gondi and Koldmi Languages*, JAS, Being. LXVI, I, 1897.

byways and there was a lot of doubt and meandering. Thus *Pope,* who otherwise deserved great merit for his outstanding work in Tamil language and literature, delved into phantastic comparison (in Indian Antiquary, 8) when connecting e.g. Tamil *kulam* and Engl. *clan,* Tam. *maṉai* and Engl. *mansion,* Tam. *nākku* and Latin *lingua.*

All these and similar works result in a new attempt of synthesis, this time by an Indian author, *Subayya* (1909, 1911), in Indian Antiquary. In spite of the fact that Subayya's articles brought much that was new and that they have had their important place in the evolution of Dravidian comparative philology, they did not contribute a fundamental and decisive share in the formation of a new conception of the system of Dravidian languages as a whole. Unfortunately, Subayya's work has remained a torso.

However, a few years before there appeared in Calcutta (in 1906) the monumental work of Indian linguistics, the *Linguistic Survey of India.* Its fourth volume, compiled by *Sten Konow,* is dedicated mainly to Dravidian languages. The results which had been reached have been resumed in this magnificent work; different languages have been described with the utmost thoroughness then possible, texts have been appended as well as a complete bibliography to every section. Nevertheless, what has been said of Subayya's works, holds also for LSI. Though a corner-stone of Dravidian philology, it did not change the views and conceptions and put a new, bold theory answering the most difficult questions.

With this work and with Subayya's synthetic articles the second period of evolution of Dravidian comparative philology, characterized by further attempts at a more profound analysis and a wider synthesis, has been closed.

4

The next, modern period may be characterized by the demand expressed in 1929 by the Nestor of contemporary

Indian linguistics, *Suniti Kumar Chatterji*: "What we want is a series of rigorously scientific grammars of all important Dravidian languages ... A series of historical and comparative grammars of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada...with analogous forms from the other Dravidian languages would be ideal."

Conditions for such work may have been considered as ripe during that period. Significant ancient material, both literary and epigraphic, has been published or is being published with considerable zeal. This enables the scholars to penetrate into the past of the languages. New, detailed and safe grammars of the non-literary languages enable the linguists to apply the comparative method with a fair amount of success.[24]

Typical for this period is the entry of Indian scholars upon the tilt-yard of science. Let us remember only two outstanding research-workers, *Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar* and *Subr. Sastri*.[25] Thus, slowly but safely, a true

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24 Denys Bray, *The Brahui Language*, I, Calcutta 1909, II—III, Delhi 1934. A. Grignard, *A Grammar of the Oraon Language* and *Oraon-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1924. Ch. Trench, *Grammar of Gondi as spoken in the Betul district*, Madras, 1919—21.—A. N. Mitchell, *A Grammar of Maria Gondi*, Jagdalpur, 1942.—W. W. Winfield, *A Grammar of the Kui Language*, Calcutta, 1928. id., *A Vocabulary of the Kui Language*, Calcutta. 1929.

25 As far as the works of L. V. R. Aiyar are concerned, it would be useful to compile a complete bibliography of these works, scattered in different magazines and journals. I wish to contribute with the following list:

1929 *Notes on Dravidian* I—IV, IHQ, 1929.
Austric and Dravidian, Q.M.S., Oct. 1929.
Plosives of Dravidian, IA, 1929.
1930 *Dravidic Etymologies*, JAHRS, 1930, 1—2.
Prossemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian, JBORS, XVI, 1.
Kui Words and Dravidian Origins, JOR IV, 2.
Dravidic Perspectives, QJMS, Oct. 1930.
World-Parallels between Dravidian and other Language-Families, Educ. Review, Jan. 1930.
Problems of Dravidian Linguistics. I. Etymological Studies. ib., May 1930.
1931 *Notes on Dravidian*, IHQ, VII, 1931.
Dravidic Forms for Betel Leaf, JOR V, 1.
Dravidian Names Denoting Peacock and Bat, JBORS, XVI, 3—4.
Dravidic Names for Palms, JBORS, XVII.
Dravidic Word-Studies, JAHRS, VI, 1.
Some Dravidic Plant-names, JOR 1931, 156—66.

comparative Dravidian phonology originates, connected with such names as L. V. R. Aiyar, the American scholar *Tuttle* and others. The scholars are deeply interested chiefly in the problems of etymology and substratum.[26] A new conception of the development of Indian languages may be observed, mainly in the sphere of the "linguistic prehistory of India": the Dravidian languages had an important share in the evolution of Indo-Aryan since the times of the Vedic dialect itself, just as the Dravidian component in the complicated pattern of Indian culture and society and religion is being stressed. The University of Madras has published in 1926—36 the monumental *Tamil* Lexicon, comprising 104-405 items. Prof. L. V. R. Aiyar has published some works which represent the beginnings of true historical investigation of Tamil and Malayalam. In 1941 the Indian scholar Narasimhia published the grammar of the oldest Kaṇarese inscriptions, in 1937 a history of the Telugu language (unfortunately in Telugu) was

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1932 *A Problem of Dravidic Phonology*, JOR, V, p. 1. *Tulu Prose Texts in Two Dialects*, BSOS, VI, pp. 897—930.

1933 *Dravidic Problems*, IA, 1933, pp. 46—56.
Initial Fricatives and Affricates in Dravidian, ib., 141—8.

1935 *Tamil L.* JOR IX, pp. 140—7, 195—210.

1936 *Materials for a Sketch of Tulu Phonology*, Bull. Ling. Soc. Ind. VI, 1936, pp. 385—439.
The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology, Ernakulam, 1936.
Dravidic "Eating" and "Drinking", IHQ XII, pp. 258—69.

1937 The *History of the Tamil-Malayalam Alveolar Plosive*, J. Madr. Univ. VIII. 1937.
A Primer of Malayalam Phonology, Bull. Rama Varma Inst., 1937.

1938 *The Morphology of the Old Tamil Verb*, Anthropos 38, pp. 747—81.
A Fifteenth Century Malayalam Prose Text, The Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam, 21/1, 1938.

In 1925 appeared *A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics* (pp. 31), Calcutta University Press, 1925.

Subrahmanya Sastri, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, Madras, 1934.

[26] Cf. also Levi—Przyluski—Bloch: *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta 1929. J. Przyluski. *Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian*, IHQ, VI, IV °1, 1930, pp. 145—9, id. *Le nom du ble*, RO, 1928 (30), 125—9, id. *Le nom du dieu Visnu* ... ArOr, IV, 2, 1932, 261—7, F. O. Schrader, *A Curious Case of Idiomatic Sanskrit*, BSOS, VI, 2, 1931, p. 481, J. Carpentier, *The Meaning and Etymology of Puja*, IA, 1927, pp. 93—99, 130—136, Ch. Chakravarty, *Meaning and Etymology of Puja*, IA, 1928, p. 140, F. O. Schrader, *Ein Syntaktisches Problem der Indischen Sprachfamilien*, ZII, 6, 1928, pp. 72—82.

published by *C. N. Rao.*[27] Different scholars begin to specialize methodically. To the most important works of this period belong the articles of *Prof. Burrow* of Oxford and *Prof. Emeneau* of Berkeley. The first dedicates his attention to important problems of Dravidian phonology and phonetics, etymology and the relation between Dravidian and Sanskrit; he has also supported Caldwell's old theory (however altered to some respects) about the affinity of Dravidian and Finno-Ugrian. An interesting Tamil grammar has been published in the USSR in 1929 (*Mervart, A. M., Grammatika Razgovornogo Tamil'skogo Jazyka*), which tries to explain the language from a new and different point of view, starting from Tamil itself without any preconceived theory and terminology.

This period of feverish activity, the period of the origin of a whole series of new works and new methods may be considered as closed by a new attempt of synthesis, this time by *Prof. Jules Bloch.* In 1946 he published his "*Structure Grammatical des Languages Dravidiennes*". In the introduction, he says that his work is far from being so ambitious as the work of Caldwell; his is only a "*cadre prēparatoir ā des etudes plus approfondies*", based mostly upon the investigation of non-literary languages (whereas Caldwell has started from Tamil). Bloch's work, full of unique ideas and ingenious and thought-provoking suggestions, is actually a preparatory work, showing the ways and directions of further study. It cannot be considered (and neither it has been the purpose of its author) as a detailed synthesis of Dravidian comparative problems.

It may seem that, in the first half of the 20th Century a lot has been done in the field of Dravidian comparative philology. Through reliable and more or less detailed description of languages such as Kui, Brahui, Gond, Tulu, the

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27 C. Narayana Rao, *History of the Telugu Language*, Waltair, 1937. —A. N. Narasimhia, *A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*, Mysore, 1941.

foundations have been laid of a solid comparative method of the future. The editions of old texts and epigraphs, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese, enable solid historical investigation. On the other hand, only the foundations have been laid. That means that, at the present time, the period of small, detailed, solid work on different problems begins, which will serve as the building-material of a future synthesis. In other words, considerable success has been attained in the descriptive work. Now it remains to solve the problems, to discover the laws and to explain them, historically and comparatively. However, even in the sphere of mere description there are serious lacunas to be found.

Thus we may briefly sketch out the present state of comparative Dravidian philology. Time is ripe to create some sort of international collaboration of the scholars and research-centres ; it would be ideal to have a special international scientific journal dedicated only to the problems of Dravidian philology and linguistics, further, to have periodical bibliographic issues and, finally, international conferences of Dravidianists from time to time.

The most important tasks of the past are also being solved at present : the descriptions of the non-literary Dravidian languages on a static, synchronic level. To this group belong the most important works of the present time. *Kota Texts* by *M. B. Emeneau* and an excellent grammar of *Kolami* by the same author, appended by a copious etymologic vocabulary, as well as the outstanding work of *Prof. Burrow* and *S. Bhattacharya*, a descriptive grammar of *Purji* with texts and vocabulary.[28] Through these and other

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[28] Murray B. Emeneau, *Kota Texts*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 1, 1944, vols. 2 and 3, 1944—46. — M. B. Emeneau, *Kolami, A Dravidian Language.* University of California Publications in Linguistics, 1955. — Also, by the same author : *Personal Names of the Todas.* American Anthropologist 40. 1938. *Echo-Words in Toda*, New IA I, 1938. — *A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, Language, Culture and Personality, Menasha, Wisconsin, pp. 158—79, *Proto-Dravidian c- : Toda t-*, BSOAS 1953, XV/1, pp. 98—112,

works, the universities of *Berkeley* in California, U. S. A. and in *Oxford*, England, lead in contemporary Dravidian studies, besides the third centre, *Poona* in India. It seems that Prof. Burrow has founded a school.[29] The American and English centres are in close contact and collaboration; besides the descriptive work on the non-literary languages these scholars deal mostly with etymological and phonetic problems, and Emeneau and Burrow promised the world a work which undoubtedly will open a new chapter in the history of Dravidian studies, viz., a large etymological, comparative dictionary of the Dravidian languages.[30] The third important centre, *Poona* in India, is characterized by some interesting works in phonetics and phonemics,[31] and. chiefly, by two very important works dealing with the historical aspect of Dravidian philology: *Gai's* historical grammar of *Old Kannada*, published in 1946 and *Sekhar's* work *Evolution of Malayalam* (1953).[32] These works represent the beginnings (they are actually purely descriptive, presentational grammars of the respective languages during a certain phase of evolution) of the realization of the most important plan conceived in Poona: the publishing of

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Linguistic Pre-history of India. Proceedings of the Amer. Philos. Soc. 98/4, 1954, pp. 282—92 etc. — T. Burrow — S. Bhattacharya. *The Parji Language*, Hertford. 1953. Also, by T. Burrow, *Dravidic Studies*, BSOS, IX, 1938. 711—22, X, 1940, 289—97, XI. 1943, 122—39, 595—616. XII. 1947, 132—47, 366—96 etc.

29 Under preparation, at this school, is a descriptive grammar of the verbal forms of the Sangam texts (Early Old Tamil).

30 "Professor T. Burrow of Oxford University and I have initiated a collaboration looking towards it. and hope that ten years may see us at the end of our labours" (M. B. Emeneau. BSOAS, 1953, XV/1, p. 99).

31 Cf. especially C. R. Sankaran, *Phonemics of Old Tamil*, Poona 1951 and a series of articles by the Professor and his pupils published in the BDRCI. With regard to phonetics and phonology. cf. J. R. Firth. *Tamil Phonetics*, Appendix to A. H. Arden, *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, 4th ed., Madras 1943. Also P. Meile. *Sur la sifflante en Dravidien*, JA, 1934—35, pp. 73—89, M. G Venkatesaioh. *The Initial-Surd-Medicl Sonant Postulate in Kannada*, J. Mythic Soc. XLV. 1955/3 pp. 135—47. Švarný—Zvelebil, *Some Remarks on the Articulation of the "Cerebral" Consonants in Indian Languages Especially in Tamil* ArOr 1955, 3, pp. 374—434. A. M. Pizzagalli: *L'origine delle linguali nell'antico indiano e l'influsso dravidico. Silloge linguistica dedicata alla memoria di Graziadio Isaia Ascoli*, Torino, 1929. pp 152—169.

32 G. S. Gai, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannada*, Poona 1946. — A. C. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Poona 1953.

historical grammars of the great Dravidian languages.[33] The scholars of Poona have also prepared a work of outstanding merit in compiling a complete bibliography of works dealing with Dravidian philology.[34]

There are some other places in South India, which show the marks of lively activity as far as Dravidian linguistics is concerned : in this connection it is necessary to mention the *University of Travancore* in Trivandrum,[35] *The Academy of Tamil Culture* in Madras and its journal, the "*Tamil Culture*", the *University of Madras*, the *Annamalai University*. Often this work is marked by some devious trends and initial difficulties which are a sign of every beginning. But is also mostly characterized by the promising enthusiasm of youth.

Paris, after the glorious tradition marked by the names of Vinson and Bloch, has been bereft of the brilliant intellect and wide knowledge of *Jules Bloch*,[36] who died in 1953. As far as I am informed, *P. Meile* may be now regarded as the representant of French Dravidianists.

The Dravidian problems form a considerable part of interests of *Prof. F. B. Kuiper* of Leiden,[37] *Prof. M. Mayr-*

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33 Cf. Sekhar, *Evolution of Malayalam*, Preface : "... the plan of the Dravidian department of the Deccan College Research Institute for studying all the four principal Dravidian languages on a historical basis before attempting a comparative study of them stage by stage."

34 "A fairly exhaustive bibliography of Dravidian Philology recording over 800 references, has already been prepared by the present writer which will be published as soon as possible" (the translator's Preface to the English rendering of Bloch's *Structure* by Ramkrishna Ganesh Harshe, p. XII).

35 The Tamil department is led by *Prof. V. I. Subramaniam*, M.A., Ph. D.

36 The bibliography of the works of J. Bloch may be found on pp. XXI—XXIV of the English rendering of his "*Structure*", which appeared in Poona under the title "*The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*", 1954.

37 Cf. F. B. J. Kuiper, *Zur chronologie des Stimmtonverlustes im dravidischen Anlaut*, BSOS, IX, 1939, pp. 987—1001. *Also, Note on Dravidian Morphology*, Acta Orientalia, 1948, pp. 238—52 and *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*, Amsterdam 1948, *Two Rigvedic loanwords*, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift A. Debrunner 1954, 241—50,

hofer[38] of Wurzburg, *A. Master* and *L. Lisker.*

It remains to say a few modest and brief words about Prague. The traditions of the Prague interests in Dravidian languages, especially in Tamil, root in a more remote past than it may seem at the first glance. A word has been already said about Przikryl S.J., living about the middle of the 18th Cent. Professor *A. Ludwig* treated the Dravidian verbal flexion in an interesting article[39] published in 1900 and in the Prague University Library his notes have been found which prove his live interest especially in Tamil and Malayalam.[40]

The first who treated Dravidian problems on wider scale in Prague was Professor *Otakar Pertold.*[41] Due to

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Rigvedic Loanwords, Studia Indologica, Festschrift W. Kirfel 1955, 137—85. A very important work.

38 Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *CurzgejaBtes Etymologisches Wortehbuch des Altindischen,* Heidelberg, *Die Substrattheorien und das Indische,* Gemanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift 34, 233—34 and fn. 9, 1953, *Arische Landnahme und Indische Altbevolkerung im Spiegel der altindischen sprache,* Saeculum, 1951, 2, 54—64, *Etymologische Miszellen,* ArOr XVIII, 4, 68—77, *Neue Literatur zu den Substraten im Altindischen,* ib. 367—371. — Among the works of further scholars, who have been mentioned only *passim* or not at all in the text, the following may be quoted : P. Meile, *Quelques Particularites due Sondhi au Tamoul,* BSL, XLV, 1949/71, pp. 135—45, A. Master, *Indo-Aryan and Dravidian,* BSOS XI, 1944, pp. 297—307, *The Zero Negative in Dravidian,* TPS, 1946, 137, H. H. Figulla, *Die Struktur des Verbums in den Dravidischen, Sprachen,* Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Univers. zu Berlin, 35, 1932, pp. 195—204, L. Lisker, *Tamil Verb Classification,* JAOS 71, 1951, 111—4. It is to be hoped that the bibliography, prepared in Poona by R. H. Harshe, will be as complete as possible.

39 A. Ludwig, *Uber die Verbalflexion der Dravidasprachen,* Prag 1900.

40 K. Zvelebil, *Collectanea zur Tamil-Grammatik von der Hand des † Alfred Ludwig,* ArOr XXI, 1953, 427—9.

41 Much material is to be found in his books *Perla indickeho oceanu (The Pearl of the Indian Ocean),* Praha 1926, pp. 941 and *Jihoindicke vzpominky (South Indian Remembrances),* Praha 1919, pp. 108. Cf. also the articles *Die Ceylonische Gottin Pottini,* ArOr XIII, pp. 201—24 and *Problem Sinhalstiny (The Problem of Sinhalese),* MNHMA, 1926, pp. 249—63. He was also the first to translate from Tamil prose into Czech. In Ms. are Prof. Pertold's University lectures on Tamil grammar (1953). It is a matter of great regret that it was impossible for Prof. Pertold to publish his rich Sinhalese and Tamil phonetic material, recorded in wax-cylindres of old type during his first stay in Ceylon and India. This material, comprising more than 100 cylindres, has been destroyed owing to unfavourable climatic circumstances and inexpert keeping.

circumstances of different nature he however turned his attention more to the ethnographic side of the Dravidian problem and to the questions of primitive religions.

Today, we try to contribute to comparative Dravidian studies with researches, dealing with descriptive phonetics and especially with work in the *earliest strata of Tamil language*. Our work is directed towards a broader contribution which may be characterized as the investigation of *Tamil* in its *diachronic, historic* and *synchronic static* aspects.[42]

It is evident even from this incomplete enumeration of the most typical works and trends that, in the present, we may witness a new mighty development and progress in the sphere of Dravidian linguistics. Not very numerous are the scholars who are contributing to this development. They are charged with the enormity of material and with the importance and complexity of the tasks necessary to solve. This is another reason why they ought to unite in their endeavours, plan their work, have their own international journal and their meetings. The tasks which have to be solved might be—very briefly—characterized as follows :

1. As far as the *synchronic description* of a given stage of different Dravidian languages is concerned, it is possible to say with some exaggeration that the chief task has been achieved. Nevertheless, a lot is to be done even here : there are some languages (e.g. Badaga, Toda, the languages of the Kurumbas) which are still not described —and some of them quickly vanishing.

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[42] Cf. Kamil Zvelebil, *The Enclitic Vowels (-a, -e, -o) in Modern Tamil*, ArOr, XXII, 1954, pp. 375—405, *Two Etymological Remarks*, ArOr, XXII, pp. 586—7, O. Svarny-K. Zvelebil, *Some Remarks on the Articulation of the "cerebral" Consonants in Indian Languages Especially in Tamil*, ArOr XXIII, 1955, pp. 374—434, Kamil Zvelebil, *The Present State of Dravidian Philology*, Tamil Culture 1955/1, *On Emphasis and Intensification in Tamil*, ArOr XXIII, pp. 435—64, *A Note on Tamil Verbal Morphology*, ib. pp. 479—81, *Short Remarks on Old Tamil Syntax*, ib. XXIV, 1, 1956, pp. 120—122.

2. It is of utmost necessity to begin with the *dialectology* and *linguistic geography* of Dravidian. There are some highly important dialects, e.g. in Tamil (cf. the Tamil dialect of Jaffna, of the Tirunelvēli district, Burgandī and Kaikādī), in Malayalam (Kāḍar) etc., which it is necessary to describe sooner before they completely disappear.

3. One of the most important task is to investigate into the *history*, into the *evolution* of the four great literary languages. In future, the comparative treatment must be connected closely with the historical investigation. The future synthesis must be based upon comparative and historical method of approach.

Only after the historical grammars of different Dravidian languages are thus worked out—which, in itself, needs enormous efforts and great work with the description and classification of material—it will be possible to set to work on a new, monumental comparative synthesis. In this future synthesis, based upon solid historical and comparative investigation without ignoring the solution of structural and synchronic problems, is to be seen the legacy of Robert Caldwell and his immortal work, which appeared just one hundred years ago.

News and Notes

A LETTER FROM MAURITIUS

Mr. R. Sooriamoorthy, 80, Etienne Pellevan Street, Port Louis, Mauritius, writes :—

* * * * *

I should also be grateful if you could send me any of your back numbers dealing with the religion of the Tamils. At present there is a controversy in the local press. Some write that a Tamil is a Hindu while others maintain that a Tamil is not a Hindu. Which is which ? I should be glad if you could help to enlighten me on this subject.

MSS. OF BESCHI'S TAMIL GRAMMAR FOUND

It is my duty to bring to the notice of the public, through your columns, an important find that has been made at our College recently. Stored away in a drawer, our Librarian discovered a good-sized leather-bound, hand-written manuscript, obviously far from modern. The top portion of many of the pages had been damaged by damp. The title page had crumpled away ; but the top of the first page bore the date 1728 and the name of Constantine Joseph Beschi was easily visible, in the superscription. The book was in Latin. A comparison of the Latin text with the English translations of Beschi's works, which we have in the library, left no doubt that the manuscript was that of Beschi's well-known grammar of Tamil prose, entitled *Kodun Thamil.*

For the following reasons it is clear that the manuscript belongs to the 18th century :

The volume is obviously old. Besides this, the script with its flourishes and its long 's', written like an 'f'

still prevalent in German, when writing a double 's' belongs to the 18th century.

In the 19th century English had displaced Latin. And an English translation of the same work by Christopher Horst had been published as early as 1806.

No person who wanted the book merely for its instruction would have been at pains to copy out the two prefaces that occur in the book.

A book copied merely for instructional purposes by a European student would not have been preserved so carefully as this volume had been done by the Cassamajor family to whom this belonged. The family as is well-known was associated with the East India Company (A street in Madras is named after one of the Cassamajors).

Could it then be that this manuscript might belong to the 18th century but might not be the original manuscript ? It is hardly possible that, when the text was available in print somebody should out of pure sentiment have copied it out in full. One cannot conceive of a work on Kodun Thamil being copied out for sentiment.

What presented the real problem with the volume was that it contained not merely Beschi's own grammar, but a supplement also in Latin entitled *Observationes Grammaticae* by the Danish missionary, Christopher Theodosius Walther. Beschi's text runs into 176 pages, Walther's into 60 pages. Walther himself in his preface, dated 1739, states that Beschi's book was printed at his press in Tranquebar, the year before. How then came the two to be in the same volume ? There is no doubt that Beschi's book, though written in 1728, went to the press in 1738. Many persons have therefore concluded that this was also the date of publication. Walther says in the preface to his tract that it was a supplement to Beschi's grammar. Could the supplement then have come out separately the next year ? If so, why should both texts appear in the same volume ?

Dr. Arno Lehmann of Halle-Wittenburg University in his account of the Danish Mission in Tranquebar, entitled

"It began in Tranquebar", provides the answer. He says (p. 121) :

> On 16th October, the diary records that the Walther's *Observationes Grammaticae* appeared as an appendix to Beschi's grammar. Beschi himself was not very happy about this, but his Bishop, Don Joseph Pinheire (1726-1744) of Madras, was lifted 'up to heaven' according to a letter of missionary Obuch.

Horst has no preface to his translation, either in the first edition or the second edition (1831). A better and more authoritative translation by G. W. Nahon came out in 1848 ; and though like Horst, he does not translate Walther, he says in his preface that Beschi's book was published by the Tranquebar Press in 1739. The reason for the omission of Walther's supplement by both translators is easily intelligible. But it is clear that both Beschi's book and the supplement first came out together.

In 18th century Indian things at a Press went on much more slowly than now. Ziegenbalg's New Testament bears the date 1714, but actually took one more year to come out. Walther himself wrote a Sanskrit grammar but could not have it printed at his own Press, owing to paper shortage. The Bangalore manuscript, therefore, seems clearly to be the copy of both Beschi's grammar as well as the supplement which originally came out.

However the manuscript we have cannot be in the handwriting of Beschi himself. The script of both texts is uniform ; and neither with its exactness represents the kind of thing that is usually turned out by an author. Beschi himself for his Tamil writings employed a number of amaenuenses. Where the book contained an admixture of both Latin and Tamil, the final copy had to be done by a Press expert. It is that copy which, we think, we have in our possession. After treating the damaged portions, we expect to have the manuscript open for public view.

A discovery like this reminds us how much credit is due to the small band of foreign scholars who have

attempted to make Tamil known and popular outside India. Whereas Sanskrit has engaged the attention of many foreign scholars, in the field of Tamil scholarship, foreign readers have been few: Ziegenbalg, Beschi, Caldwell and Pope. All honour to them, therefore. But Beschi was the greatest of them and perhaps the greatest foreign scholar of any Indian language, as he was the only one who wrote a first-class epic in the language he had mastered.

REV. J. R. CHANDRAN,
Principal, United Theological
College, Bangalore.

TAMIL ISAI RESEARCH

Inaugurating the eleventh *Thevara Pann* research conference held under the auspices of the Tamil Isai Sangham at the Annamalai Manram, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, exhorted musicologists to conduct research for finding out in what melodies the ancient devotional songs should be rendered.

Mr. Rajamannar said that there could be no doubt that there was an indigenous system of music in an advanced state of development in Tamil Nad even before the beginning of the Christian era. The Tamil names of the seven swaras were not the same as those now current in the South, namely, *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, da, ni.* The ancient Tamil names were *Kural, Thuttam, Kaikkilai, Uzhai, Ili, Vilari* and *Taram.* It was difficult to say whether these corresponded exactly to the *Saptha Swaras* now in vogue.

The Chief Justice said that the devotional songs of great Saivite and Vaishnavite saints were masterly examples of musical compositions. The word *Pann* had been generally used in connection with the *Thevaram* songs. But in his view *Pann* connoted a complete or heptatonic set of scales, now called *raga.* There was evidence to show there were hundreds of these *panns.* The music of the *Nayanmars* and *Alwars* must have had a great influence

in finally settling the forms of Carnatic music, though in later days the text books came to be written in Sanskrit.

Mr. Rajamannar said that with the passing of time, there must have been radical changes in the way the songs of *Nayanmars* and *Alwars* were rendered, as the continuity of the Tamil musical tradition had been broken. The Tamil Isai Sangham had taken up the task of reviving the sacred hymns from the predicament into which they had fallen.

Calling for extensive research to find out how the devotional songs should be sung, Mr. Rajamannar said that there should be a collection by tape recordings of the *Thevarams* and other Saivite and Vaishnavite hymns rendered by musicians attached to the temples. One could not say if they could secure the original pattern of these songs. But they could certainly obtain renderings of these songs in a more orthodox form than those prevailing now. Mr. Rajamannar felt that the old melodies in which these songs were rendered might be found preserved in Kerala as that region had, on account of certain natural advantages, been able to preserve their ancient traditions more than the other parts, therefore, intensive research might be made in that region. In this context, he mentioned that it had been recently decided to find out how the *ashtapathis* of Jayadeva were being sung in the temples in Kerala.

Mr. Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, in his presidential address, said that there were a number of *Panns* about which mention was made in *Thiruvoymozhi.* Research should be conducted on these *Panns,* as well as on the *Panns* mentioned in *Thevaram.* He assured his support to the Tamil Isai Sangham in this task.

He said that as a result of the research conducted so far, the nature of about 103 *Panns* had been ascertained. Steps should be taken to see that there was uniformity in the rendering of *Thevaram* and other *Pasurams,* at least in respect of *Panns* about which final conclusions had been reached at the conference.

Mr. Ramanuja Iyengar exhorted all musicians to join in the research and felt that, if possible, research in *ragas* and *thalas* might be done along with research in *pann*.

Earlier, Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, President of the Tamil Isai Sangham, welcomed the gathering.

"Azhagar Kuravanji", a dance drama of Kavi Kunjara Bharathiar, directed by Srimathi K. Lalitha of the Saraswathi Gana Nilayam under the supervision of Prof. P. Sambamurthi was then staged.

—*The Hindu* (26th December, 1960).

EVIDENCE OF LOST CONTINENT IN INDIAN OCEAN

SOVIET RESEARCH TEAM'S FINDINGS

Professor P. Bezrukov, head of the Scientists abroad the Soviet research ship Vityaz, now berthed at King George's Dock, Kidderpore, said here yesterday that they had collected numerous specimens of rare flora and fauna from the Arabian Sea and the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Prof. Bezrukov, who was speaking at a Press conference aboard the ship, said that the phenomena they had noticed would help scientists to prepare a history of the oceans.

With the help of ten scientific groups consisting of about 70 scientists including specialists in physical and chemical oceanography, meteorology, marine geology, geophysics, marine biology and astronomy, they had collected about 350 species of fishes, and discovered new features in the ocean bottom topography and new submarine ridges, he added.

When asked whether they had been able to find traces of the 'old Indian continent', Prof. Bezrukov said that in the western part of the Indian Ocean they had found traces of the old Indian continent of Mesozoic period—the second

geological period — about 100 million years back. The rocks and the flora and fauna of the period could only be established after thorough research of the sediment, he said.

In the eastern side of the Indian Ocean, however, they could not trace the old Indian continent. It was a most complicated task and would require continuous research for a long time, Prof. Bezrukov added.

The most conspicuous submarine ridge which the Soviet research scientists discovered was situated about 550 miles south-east of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean. It was traversed by the 'Vityaz' on a track 150-mile long. Above the ridge a submarine mountain, about 3,000 metres (about 10,000 ft.) in height was discovered by the echo-sounding method and named after Afanasy Nikitin, the first Russian who navigated the Indian Ocean in the 15th century.

—*The Hindu*, 22-2-61.

STUDY OF LINGUISTICS — FRENCH CO-OPERATION

New Block Opened at Annamalai Nagar

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education and Finance, declared open, last night, the Linguistics Block of the Annamalai University.

Dr. Raja Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar, Pro-Chancellor, who presided, said that the University from the beginning was interested specially in developing linguistic studies and that great savants in Tamil and Sanskrit like Swaminatha Aiyar, Dandapaniswamy Deekshithar, Pandithamani Kathiresan Chettiar had served the University and from this point of view, the Linguistics Department with its bias for language studies was but a fruition of that old ideal of this University.

Help from France Promised

The French Representative at Pondicherry, M. Dompgnac Latour, welcomed the special efforts of the Annamalai

University in developing French language and literature and offered the help of institutions at Pondicherry and the French Embassy and their full support for the programme by way of men and material.

M. Latour added: "I have been asked by the French Embassy in Delhi, to inform you that all necessary steps are being taken to send you a full-time French Professor who will teach in Annamalai University from the beginning of the next Academic year. Besides, it may be possible to send a deputation of French students to the Annamalai University for *carrying on research work in Dravidian languages* and culture as well as Professors and scholars of French Universities to lecture here for a short period. The researches conducted by your University are known and highly praised by the Paris University. The presence of Mr. Filliozat, our great savant, at the head of the French Institute in Pondicherry, is also a sure guarantee of a close co-operation between your University and similar centres in France in the domain of Linguistics, which is one of the main fields of research work here."

Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Head of the Department of Tamil (Arts) proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu,* 3-3-61.

Book Reviews

DRAVIDIAN COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY VOLUME I

The recent publication by the Madras University of Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary, Volume I is a valuable contribution to Orientology. The book has been carefully prepared and edited jointly by the Heads of the Departments of Research in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada in the University of Madras.

As an adjunct to the Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages prepared by Dr. Caldwell in the last century, this book is sure to promote further researches in Dravidology. Though stray attempts have been made so far here and there to establish on a scientific level the relationship in point of materials of expression among the various Dravidian languages, a systematic work has not been produced until now. This work which bears the stamp of scholars eminent in their respective languages therefore bids fair to become the recognised authority in this direction.

Another comparative Dravidian Vocabulary in preparation jointly by Professor T. Burrow of the Indian Institute, Oxford, and Professor R. B. Emeneau of the University of California is tending to become another welcome addition on the subject.

In the book under review, two thousand words appear with the corresponding equivalents in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada and sometimes in Tulu too. The book is divided into 22 sections like names of Heavenly Bodies, Cardinal points, Flora and Fauna, Human Body,Household Articles etc., etc. Nearly one-third of the book has been devoted to the Fauna and Flora of the Dravidian land. The next importance has been given to words appertaining to

the human body. Words concerning Buildings and Food Products have also received great attention. One, however, might desire to find greater number and greater variety of cultural words than one finds in this book, for the total number of words in the cultural section are under forty. Probably, in the next volume cultural words in large numbers may be presented.

The work, so far as it goes, however, is a wealth of information on the subject. It not only furnishes us with information about the allied and altered forms in which the same word appears in different Dravidian languages, but serves as a valuable guide-book to Research Scholars who might embark on a morpho-phonemic analysis of their respective languages.

A note-worthy feature of the book is that it has, in addition to the transliterated forms, the actual Dravidian words in the script of the concerned language side by side. This book has been brought out as a result of arduous and difficult labour for about twenty years, as has been pointed out in the preface by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai (Professor of Tamil), Sri N. Venkata Rao (Reader in Telugu), Dr. S. K. Nayar (Reader in Malayalam) and Sri M. Mariappa Bhat (Professor of Kannada) deserve hearty congratulations on the successful manner in which they have conjointly brought out this book.

A. C. C.

TIRUKKURAL (in Hindi)

By Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu, M.A., Ph.D.,
Head of the Department of Hindi, University of Madras, Madras-5. Published by University of Madras.

The Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar is the pride of Tamilakam as of all India and it behoves all non-Tamil knowing public of India, especially of the distant north to get intimately acquainted with the true glories of this pre-eminent

treasure of the ancient Tamil classics. As the learned Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, in his foreword to the Hindi translation of this great work has pertinently remarked, " the message of Tiruvalluvar, as outlined in the Kural is a message for all humanity and at no time is such a message more needed than at the present ". The learned authority goes on further to point out the dire need at the moment for such a translation. " It is unfortunate," says he, " that while the treasures of the ancient Tamil classics are better known and better appreciated by scholars in the western lands, very little attention has been paid to such works by scholars in other parts of India ".

The Tirukkural already enjoys the reputation of being, next to the Bible, the book *par excellence* that has been sought after in translations into the greatest number of languages of the world, and the languages of India have not been completely unaffected in their efforts in this matter. But it must be admitted, this epitome of the wisdom of the South has not so far been presented to the North in the due sense of proportion and in the proper setting that it deserves. If modern India is to appreciate it in the right spirit, it must be interpreted in its due perspective as the chief luminary in the galaxy of the ancient Southern classics throwing its full splendour on the exceptionally rich variety of the literary wealth of the multifarious linguistic regions of India.

The erudite and thought-provoking edition of a Hindi translation of the illustrious *Kural* has recently been brought out by Sahitya Ratna Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu, Head of the Department of Hindi in the Madras University, with the text side by side with the prose reading of the original on opposite sides and with a scholarly introduction by the distinguished translator himself and a Foreword from no less a person than Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar. It supplies a long-felt need and bids fair to go a great way towards fulfilling the conditions above mentioned regarding the true presentation of the *Kural* to the Indian people. Further coming as it does as the proper endeavour

at the proper moment, and being undertaken as it is by one eminently fitted for the task and allured to it, one who, on the basis of the initial qualities of the work, appears to have chosen it as a life-mission and a labour of love it is alike a contribution to Tamil scholarship as to the literary world of Hindi and the history of Indian culture and thought.

Dr. Shankar Raju is on the one side a scholar, writer and critic of eminence in the Hindi world and on the other, in his own capacity, the scion of a family that has for generations taken ardently to the traditions of Tamil literature and poetry. His acquaintance with the best of the literary wealth of the West and his knowledge of the living traditions for the languages and literatures of South India in addition to that of Hindi has stood him in good stead in this task. Further he has had the rare opportunity of an intimate contact with a leader of the Tamil world of letters and thought in the person of Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, the Head of the Tamil Department of the University of Madras.

The translation is advisedly done in prose, in the simple current form of Hindi graced with a literary, idiomatic and racy style that adds remarkably to clarity of thought and forcefulness of expression. It may be mentioned here that the translation has a mastery of the poetic as well as the prose idiom of the Hindi language and has in both the remarkable ability to render the terse maxims of the *Kural* in an equally terse Hindi style. The wonderful felicity of his versified idiom in this respect is shown by the verse renderings of Tamil verses in the introduction in parallel Hindi form, transplanting the very rhythm and prosodial pattern of the original as faithfully as the thought expressed in them. We may cite for instance :

தெய்வந் தொழாஅள் கொழுநற் றொழுதெழுவாள்
பெய்யெனப் பெய்யும் மழை.

of Kural into its parallel Hindi verse rendering—

ईश न, नित उठ पूजै पति को,
बरसो कह दे तो बरसे।

and other successful Hindi renderings of poems from *Tiruvalluvar Malai.* Translation from Tamil of *Tirukkural* to any other language in prose or in poetic verse form, has always set a very hard problem to writers, South and West. So far translators of the *Kural* have perforce had recourse in this matter to verbose and lengthy renderings that take by far more space than the original in order to bring out its full force. Differences of interpretation among the Tamil commentators and authorities have often necessitated alternate renderings where the translators feel the necessity and this has often clogged the path of those who wished to present a clear picture of the thought of the original in the translated medium. Occasionally the native idiom could not be presented to an alien public without elaboration of the etymological or cultural background against which the terms have to be understood. But it is a mark of the excellence of the art of translation achieved by Dr. Shankar Raju that he has to a very great extent steered clear of all these difficulties. With a rare insight born of his wide acquaintance with Tamil culture and with the invaluable help of the master-mind of his illustrious guide, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, he has often succeeded in bringing out the heart of Tiruvalluvar himself in one hit with a straight and simple rendering. As a result the Hindi rendering as set against the Tamil origins in the opposite page occupies more or less the space as the latter and yet to the Tamil knowing Hindi reader, the translation is a faithful echo of the thoughts of the great author of the *Kural.*

We may cite the following as evidence in this respect :

Chapter IV, Verse 1.

சிறப்புஈனும், செல்வமும் ஈனும்; அறத்தினூஉங்கு
ஆக்கம் எவனோ உயிர்க்கு?

धर्म यशप्रद है, और धनप्रद भी है। अतः जीवन के लिये धर्म से श्रेष्ठ और कौन सा पदार्थ है?

Chapter XI, Verse 2.

எண்ணென்ப ஏனை எழுத்தென்ப இவ்விரண்டும்
கண்ணென்ப வாழும் உயிர்க்கு.

अंक और अक्षर कहलानेवाले दोनों जीवित प्राणिमात्र के नेत्र कहलाते हैं।

For perspicacity as well as refined grace of style that does honour to the poetic beauty of the original, the following may be added :

Chapter CX, Verse 1.

இருநோக்கு இவள்உண்கண் உள்ளது ஒருநோக்கு
நோய்நோக்கு,ஒன்று அந்நோய் மருந்து.

इसके अंजन-रंजित नयनों में दो प्रकार की दृष्टि हैं ; एक ज्वर उत्पन्न करनेवाली और दूसरी उस ज्वर की औषधि।

The translator's introduction, no less than the admirable Foreword, supplies the Hindi reading public with the proper incentive to the appreciation and evaluation of the work. The author gives a full length critique of the life and times of the author, the social, religious and cultural background against which the inimitable world-teacher is to be understood, with proper excerpts from the criticisms bearing upon the work in the hands of savants of both East and West. He takes great pains to present the author to the Hindi public with comparisons and contrasts to the lives and thoughts of masters in Hindi like Kabir, Sur and Tulasi, and other great minds in India and abroad. He faithfully records all the traditions, legendary or otherwise about Tiruvalluvar that have accrued in the centuries in the Tamil country but he takes care to point out their flimsy nature, comparing them with the equally untenable fond traditions of other Indian poets like Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Kabir.

The translator has an instructive and inspiring note on the universality of appeal of Tiruvalluvar in the very outset of his Introduction.

"Great thinkers of the various languages of the world have tried to formulate through the garb of their own modes of thinking the central reality for human life.... But in all the literatures of the world we find quite a limited number of masters indeed, who have depicted the unknown through the known and who with a mind broad enough for the purpose, have risen above the limitations of space and time, and through illuminating them, have shown what is true to all countries and all periods. We can find a handful of great men in this land of Bharata, who have achieved this rare task. They have set up a glaring ideal for all humanity to follow. Among these very few we have to count Tiruvalluvar who has verily shown to our view the true form of Bharata! Those who search for the reality of ancient Bharata will find this true thought pervading all Bharata in a latent form."

It is gratifying to note that this edition brought out by the University of Madras is the first Hindi translation of *Tirukkural* directly from the Tamil original. It is endowed in addition to the Introduction and Foreword, with an index of the first lines of the text and a table of the Tamil alphabets with Hindi equivalents enabling the Hindi readers to go through the very original wordings of Tiruvalluvar.

The publication of this edition of *Tirukkural* with the Hindi translation is a step in the right direction for a proper appreciation of the *Kural* in India and we hope it will be followed up with similar attempts in the cause of other Tamil classics as well, undertaken by the University as well as by the Government agencies through hands as fitted to the task as that of the learned translator.

K. A.

BOOK RECEIVED

அச்சுக்கலை — மா. சு. சம்பந்தம், பக்கங்கள் 240, விலை ரூ. 6.00. தமிழர் பதிப்பகம், 81, லிங்கா செட்டித் தெரு, சென்னை - 1. விற்பனை உரிமை: பாரி நிலையம், 59, பிராட்வே, சென்னை-1.

Vol. IX. No. 3 JULY—SEPT. 1961.

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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 Rs. 10 yearly

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Doctor R. P. Sethupillai

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The passing of Dr. R. P. Sethupillai on the Twenty-fifth of April, 1961, is an event which continues to be greatly mourned by all those acquainted with Tamil and Tamil scholarship. The tributes which were paid to his memory by the press and the public of South India, Ceylon and Malaya are evidence, if evidence were necessary, of the esteem in which he was held, and the high appreciation and recognition which his scholarship has won for him wherever Tamil people read Tamil or about Tamil. The tributes dealt pointedly with his gifts as a speaker and writer, with his pioneer work for the Tamil Renaissance, his services as Lecturer at the Annamalai University, and later as Senior Lecturer and Professor at the University of Madras. They dwelt on the generous endowments he made for the Sornammal Lectures at the Annamalai University and the University of Madras, and his philanthropy in bequeathing most of his estate to the maintenance of a maternity hospital in an area which sorely needed an institution of this kind. But, above all, the tributes dealt with Doctor R. P. Sethupillai as a man, his great kindness and urbanity, his sense of humour and his humility, and the love and altruism he brought to bear in his dealings with his friends, his students and the public.

It was fortunate that the Academy of Tamil Culture at a tea-party and meeting presided over by the former Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, a few days before Dr. Sethupillai's demise, was able to congratulate Dr. Sethupillai *in absentia* at his entering a period of retirement at the age of 65 after

such a long period of service to Tamil-speaking people and to Universities with Tamil Departments all over the world. The speakers at the function paid tributes to his work for the Academy of Tamil Culture and the interest he took in the founding and development of the Academy and of its journal. It was but a day earlier that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras had recalled in the Senate Hall at a Felicitation celebration attended by representatives of all sections of the city's population, his tribute to the retiring Professor of Tamil. As if in anticipation and with a presentiment of what was to come, a printed volume of tributes and learned papers was presented to Dr. Sethupillai from his friends, admirers, students, and the great men of the Tamil country. In his Foreword, with characteristic felicity of expression, included Dr. Mudaliyar the memorable phrases of what might be a funeral oration and the sculptural words of an epitaph :

> "Dr. R. P. Sethupillai has been an ideal University Professor and perhaps no one can speak of him with more intimate knowledge than myself. I have heard of him when he was in the Annamalai University but ever since he came over to the Madras University it has been my pleasure and privilege to have had a more intimate touch with him and to admire the manner in which he conducted himself as Professor, and the decency and decorum which he showed at all times and on all occasions.
>
> Dr. R. P. Sethupillai is an unique example of high scholarship, extreme modesty, simplicity of behaviour and unostentatious charitable nature. Of him it may be truly said that his right hand did not know what his left hand gave. He is retiring from the University of Madras with full of honours and full of years. His memory will be long cherished and the University is proud that his name will adorn the roll of the recipients of honorary degrees of this University ".[1]

[1] See R. P. Sethupillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, 1961, Palaniappa Brothers, Madras, 1961.

No further tribute is needed for the memory of R. P. Sethupillai, the embodiment of Tamil Culture, and the embodiment of the cherished ideals of our people which he himself expounded so clearly and so often as the ideals of the poets of old.

First Beginnings

Dr. R. P. Sethupillai came of a line of Tamil lovers and Tamil Patrons. Vadamalayappan Pillai of the 16th century who was the ruler of the area around Tirunelveli is a notable figure in his ancestry.[2] Sethupillai was born at Rasavallipuram in the Tirunelveli District, South India, the last of a family of twelve children, eleven of whom died before he was born. The late Professor's bequest to a maternity hospital becomes intelligible when aware of the high rate of infantile mortality of the time of which his own family was a victim. He was educated at St. Xavier's High School, and later did his collegiate studies at the M.D.T. Hindu College, Tirunelveli and Pachayappa's College, Madras. He so distinguished himself in Tamil that he was invited to be an Assistant Lecturer at Pachayappa's. A young man with such speaking and debating abilities could not resist the lure of the law, and Sethupillai qualified for the Madras Bar to practise for a few years in his home district of Tirunelveli.[3]

R. P. Sethupillai became a member also of the local municipality. He distinguished himself so well by his speeches that his political rivals finding his eloquence devastating persuaded the late Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar to invite Sethupillai to accept a lecturer's post at the Annamalai University. This is one of the rare occasions when local rivalries contributed to Tamil scholarship. At the Annamalai seat of Tamil learning

2 *Ibid.*, p. 20, Article by S. Maharajan.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 42 ff, article by N. Sanjeevi.

where he went in 1930, began Sethupillai's career of academic contribution. The Annamalai University with its residential facilities provided the opportunity for Sethupillai to come into familiar contact with scholars of other disciplines, and the new courses opened for Tamil in that University gave his studies direction and purpose, and the occasion to inspire many a future teacher of Tamil with enthusiasm for poetic enjoyment. His Tamil oratory was a match for the English oratory of the then Vice-Chancellor, Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and won for Tamil a new recognition among undergraduates who until then generally thought of English alone as a dignified medium for University audiences and addresses.

From the Annamalai University, Sethupillai became Senior Lecturer of Tamil at the University of Madras in 1936. And when provisions were available for a Chair of Tamil, at the University of Madras, thanks to the endowment made in the name of the Rev. Lazarus, R. P. Sethupillai was chosen the first occupant of the Chair of Tamil named after the Rev. Lazarus himself. Dr. R. P. Sethupillai adorned that Chair for the last twenty-five years and retired from the University "full of years and full of glory".

At the University of Madras, Professor R. P. Sethupillai had occasion not only to do research work himself, but also guided the research work of more than forty graduates preparing theses for the M.Litt., and Ph.D., degrees. Among those who did research work under him, were M. Andronov of Moscow University, John Marr of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Adilakshmi Anjaneyulu, now at the University of Leningrad, Dr. Shankar Raj Naidu, Professor of Hindi at the University of Madras. And the subjects of the theses covered a whole range of Dravidian Literatures and languages. The twenty-five years at the University

of Madras was the period when he endeared himself to the public of Tamil Nad and delighted millions with his eloquence and his mellifluous prose.

TAMIL FOR THE MILLIONS

A University Professor engaged in Scholarship in a state in which the majority of people had had no opportunities to appreciate the characteristics and beauties of their literature must have mental conflicts as to whether he should bury himself in research or carry the fruits of his learning to the people. Professor R. P. Sethupillai chose a middle way when faced with this dilemma and carried the University ivory tower to the public hall and the forum, and through his speeches and writings was the most important pioneer of the Renaissance which took the Tamil classics, from a coterie of exclusive scholars and delivered them in the hands of the common people. It is said that Sethupillai while a student at Tirunelveli in 1912 acted as a volunteer for a Saiva Siddhanta Conference and there heard Marai-malai Adigal make an address in Tamil. The boy was so impressed by the discourse that he resolved to make a special study of Tamil Language and Literature.[4] Sethupillai became a disciple of Sivagnana Desigar of Tirunelveli, and it was under him that he acquired his first orientations in Tamil Studies.[5]

The works of R. P. Sethupillai are popular in the sense they are widely appreciated by the people, but they are not popular in the sense that they are superficial or lack profundity. R. P. S. carried his scholarship lightly and had none of the pedantry which characterised certain Tamil scholars. Any one who peruses "ஊரும் பேரும்" or "திருவள்ளுவர் நூல் நயம்", or "*Words and their significance*" will realise how much

[4] Marai Tirunavukkarasu, Maraimalai Adigal Varalaru, p. 162. Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Works, Madras, 1959.

[5] R. P. S. Commemoration Volume, op. cit., p. 18.

of labour and research and thought has entered into these works. To be successful as a populariser chiefly in the domain of literature, and to maintain that popularity over a period of about fifty years, one should have learning and profundity, and these R. P. S. possessed. Occasionally, his use of alliteration and rhyme might have sacrificed rigid accuracy and precision, but these instances are not of great moment in his works. Behind the easy, popular and dramatic style of narrative which R. P. S. developed, is the precise and thorough knowledge of the Tamil classics which comes by constant enjoyment of favourite authors and favourite pieces of literature. And with sure taste R. P. S. singled out the finest lines of Tamil poetry and introduced them to his readers so that they might become part of their heritage. Readers "experiencing" these quotable lines naturally go to the originals to experience them in a fuller context.

Sethupillai realised as few Tamil scholars at that period had realised that the purpose of poetry is not to be didactic, not to teach morals, biography or religion, but primarily to provide poetic enjoyment. Sethupillai had a phenomenal literary memory. The mellifluous lines of the *Silappatikāram,* and the *Kamba Ramayanam* as well as the devotional language of the *Periapurānam* and the Alwars and Nayanmars became by constant enjoyment and constant repetition a part of his own language and style. The rhymes and alliterations of his prose are reminescent of his favourite pieces of poetry or are haunting epithets and phrases from the classical works. The prose of his other senior contemporaries like Maraimalai Adigal and Thiru Vi. Ka. is reminiscent of the style of the old commentators, but not the style of R. P. S. His sentences are never involved or complex, but flow with a staccato rhythm. Where another writer might build up a great complex structure R. P. S. breaks his thought into several even statements :

அரக்கன் மாயத்தை அறியாத சீதை, மாயத் தந்தையை உண்மைத் தந்தை என்றெண்ணி மயங்கி அழுதாள்; கைகளை நெரித்தாள், கண்ணை மோதினாள். நெருப்பில் விழுந்த மலர்போல் வாடிச் சுருண்டாள்; ஏங்கினாள்; நடுங்கினாள்; "ஐயோ! தந்தாய்! என்னால் உனக்கு இத்துன்பம் வந்ததோ! மன்னர் மன்னனாய் மதிக்கப்பெற்ற நீ, அரக்கன் பாசத்தில் அகப்பட்டு மானமிழந்து உயிர் வாழ்தல் ஆகுமோ! பெண்ணைப் பெற்ற பாவத்தால் இப்பெரும் பழியைப் பெற்றாய். என் சிறையும் உன் சிறையும் நீக்குவார் எவரையும் காண்கிலேனே!" என்று ஏங்கி அழுதாள். இவ்வாறு தன் தந்தையின் துயர் கண்டும் மனம் திரியாத சீதையின் திண்மையைக் கண்ட அரக்கர்கோன், அம் மாய மன்னனைச் சிறையிடப் பணித்தான். தன் தந்தை யென வந்த மாயனும், இரக்கமற்ற இராவணனும் மறைந்த பின்னர், சீதை அருந்துயரில் ஆழ்ந்தாள்; தந்தைக்கு நேர்ந்த மானத்தை எண்ணி மனமுடைந் தாள்; தலைவனும் தந்தையும் தன்னால் அடைந்த பகை யையும் பழியையும் நினைந்து நைந்தாள்; அந்நிலையில் திரிசடை திருமகளை அன்போடு நோக்கி இசையினு மினிய சொற்களால், "அன்னமே! உன்னெதிரே சற்று முன் வந்தவன் உன் தந்தை அல்லன்; இங்குள்ள அரக்கரெல்லாம் மாயையில் மிக வல்லவர்; அவ் வரக் கருள் ஒருவனாய மருத்தன் என்பவனே மாயையால் உருவம் மாறி மிதிலை மன்னனென வந்தான்; ஆதலால் உன் தந்தை மானமழிந்தான் என்று மனம் வருந்தாதே" என்று கூறி மயக்கம் தெளிவித்தாள்.[6]

In his bringing Tamil poetry to the millions, R. P.S. appears to have had a plan spread over his life time. He first introduced the great classics to the people, and commenced with *Tirukkural* as would a person of his religious and conservative nature, giving due regard and reverence to tradition. This was followed by introducing the Tamil epic *par excellence*, the *Silappatikāram* and reproducing its inimitable lyrics and quotable lines. Then came his description of the story of

[6] "வீரமாநகர்", S. R, Subramaniapillai, Tirunelveli, 1957, p. 91 f.

Rama as portrayed in Kamban. Episodes from the *Maṇimēkalai* and the *Periapurānam* followed in "தமிழ் நாட்டு நவமணிகள்". Having presented his understanding and his enjoyment of what should be the classics shared by people whatever their religious affiliation might be, R. P.S. with a catholicity of outlook, spoke and wrote on the literary works of different religious groups within the Tamil Country so that all Tamils might become aware of the literary heritage they should share in common. He had already expounded for the benefit of the Tamil Country, the *Kamba Ramayanam* which was believed to be a Vaishnava work and therefore not meriting the attention of a Saivaite like Sethupillai.[7] He wrote a magnificent study and book on the Italian Catholic priest Beschi, and his work *Tirukkāvalūr Kalambagam* and thereby introduced Beschi to those not of his faith. Another book appeared on the கந்தபுராணம் entitled "வேலின் வெற்றி" Once again he wrote of the contribution made by Christians, both foreigners and Tamils, and included such names as Rhenius, Vedanayagam Pillai, Krishna Pillai and Vethanayagam Sastri.

The bakthi poetry of the Alwars and Nayanmars he cited in his essays dealing with the places and temples associated with them. Throughout his many books but especially in கடற்கரையிலே, in "ஆற்றங்கரையிலே," and in "ஊரும் பேரும்," he worked out the literary association of the cities, towns, rivers, valleys, hills and other land marks in the Tamil country. He was not a historian nor did he see the Tamil country in a historical dimension. His is the perspective of literature, and the Tamil Nad he portrays is the Tamil Nad of literary associations. Of episodes from the Sangam Age and other periods of Tamil history he did remind his readers, but they were again known to him and explained by

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[7] R. P. S. Commemoration Volume, op. cit., p. 13 ff. article by Dr. B. Natarajan.

him as episodes from literary pieces. He was himself aware of his vision of the Tamil landscape for he wrote in his Preface to "ஆற்றங்கரையிலே": இக்கட்டுரைகளிலே தமிழகத்தின் செழுமையும், செம்மையும், பழைமையும், பண் பாடும் சிறந்து விளங்கக் காணலாம்.

His character is written all over his works. His choice of words and epithets were always delicate and never coarse. The language of the bakthi literature in Tamil is another factor to be counted in the study of his style. Certain words not usually common with modern writers occur over and over in Sethupillai, and these are an index to his urbanity and gentlemanliness. He reintroduced and made current in speech and writing a great many words which previous centuries had forgotten, and these words occur with a morning freshness in the pages of R. P.S. He treated religious themes of other religionists with greater respect and religious sensitivity than their own critics writing on their own religious themes. In his Anthology of Tamil Poetry, with a great universality of taste and outlook, he included representative poetry from every section of Tamil poetry, from every period, and from poets belonging to different religions. The same outlook is clear also from the personages like Marco Polo, Umaru Pulavar and Caldwell, who are featured in his Apostrophes to the ocean.

In his narrative style, R. P. S. was influenced by the Tamil epics. The writer has often pointed to the following passage as characteristic of one aspect of Sethupillai's style.

> "கடலில் நெடுந்தூரம் சென்றபின் கடுங்காற்று விசையாக வீசக் கருமேகம் கடுகித் திரண்டு இடி முழக்கம் செய்யக் கருங்கடலில் எங்கும் இருளே நிறைந்து இரவு மிகப் பயங்கரமாக இருந்தது. கடல் கொந்தளித்து மரக்கலத்தைக் கவிழ்த்துவிடும் என் றறிந்த கப்பல் தலைவன் அபாய நிலையை அங்குள்

ளார்க்கு அறிவித்தான். அப்பொழுது கப்பலில் இருந்த நன்மக்கள் தமக்கு அழியும் காலம் வந்ததென்று அறிந்து, இறைவனை நினைந்து கைகூப்பித் தொழு தார்கள். சாதுவனும் எல்லாம் வல்ல முழுமுதற் கடவுளைத் தன் இருகரங்களாலும் தொழுது ஆசிலாத் தன்மை வாய்ந்த ஆதிரைக்குத் தான் செய்த தீமையை யெண்ணி ஏங்கிக் கண்ணீர் பெருக்கினான். சிறிது நேரத்திற்குள் கப்பல் கடலில் தாழ்ந்தது. கடல் முழக்கமும் இடிமுழக்கமும் கப்பல் முழக்கமும் ஊழிக் காலப் பெருமுழக்கமும் போல நடுக்கத்தைக் கொடுத்தது. கடலுள் விழுந்த மக்களிற் பலர் நீரில் மூழ்கி மாண்டனர். சிலர் அங்குமிங்கும் நீந்தித் தத்தளித்துத் தடுமாறிப் பல திசைகளிலும் சிதறிக் கிடந்த மரக் கட்டைகளையும், பாய்மரங்களையும் பற்றிக்கொண்டு அலைகளில் மோதி மொத்துண்டு அல்லற்பட்டார்கள். சாதுவன் தண்ணீரில் விழுந்ததும் அவன் அருகே ஒரு பாய்மரம் மிதந்துகொண்டிருக்கக் கண்டான். தண்ணீரில் தத்தளிப்பவனுக்குச் சிறு துரும்பும் தெப்பமாம் என்னும் பழமொழிக்கிணங்க அப் பாய்மரத்தைப் பற்றி அதன்மீது படுத்துக்கொண்டான். எத்திசையும் செறிந்திருந்த இருளும், கருங்கடலின் ஆரவாரமும், கடும்புயலின் முழக்கமும் இடியோசையும் கேட்டபொழுது சாதுவன் தனது அபாய நிலையை அறிந்து கசிந்து உருகினான். கற்புக்கு உறைவிடமாகிய தன் காதலியை நினைத்தான். 'ஐயோ! பாவாய்! நான் உயிரோடிருந்தும் உனக்குத் துன்பமே செய்தேன். இறந்தும் உனக்குத் துன்பமே செய்யப்போகிறேன். பாவியேன் புறப்படும்பொழுது உன்னிடம் ஒரு சொல்லும் சொல்லாமல் வந்தேனே; இனி உன்னை என் கண்களாலே காண்பேனோ? உன் கனிந்த சொற்களை என் காதினால் கேட்பேனோ? நீ என்னோடிருக்கும்பொழுது இக் கடுவிதி எனக்கு வரலாகாதா?' என்று புலம்பிக் கண்களை இறுகப் பொத்திக்கொண்டு பாய்மரத்தின் மீது மிதந்துகொண்டிருந்தான். பாய்மரமும் அலைகளின் வழியே சென்று பொழுது புலர்ந்ததும் மலை நாட்டில் அவனைக் கொண்டு சேர்த்தது." [8]

[8] *தமிழ்நாட்டு நவமணிகள்*, Ottrumai Office, Madras, 1956, p. 2-3.

Throughout Sethupillai's works, one hears the undertone of deep religiousness, a reverence for tradition and the love of Tamil and the Tamil country. Alliteration and rhyme is a marked feature of his style, partly because I think he was spontaneously given to alliteration as some other persons are spontaneously given to punning. He thought in poetic language and his thought was not disassociated from the poetry he knew so well. Alliteration more recently has become a fad with a certain school of platform oratory and consequently of Tamil writing, often sacrificing the exigencies of thought and compelling the sense to follow the sound. Sethupillai's alliteration and rhyme make no such sacrifices and are subservient to no such compulsions, except for a few lapses where rigid accuracy and precision may have been overlooked in his alliterative patterns of thought. Others have attempted to imitate R. P. S. but with very little success.

The Scholar

The contribution which Dr. Sethupillai made to Tamil research was that of a pioneer. His works were necessary preliminary works to more detailed and more profound research in Tamil Studies. Connoisseur of words that he was, he was attracted by their history and by their significance. When Tamil courses were organized on the basis of modern languages, courses in Linguistics and Semantics were introduced. Sethupillai's investigation gave us a first work in the field of semantics — "*Words and their significance*". One is not aware if this work has been superseded since its publication in 1953. The author's knowledge of Tamil Literature is again evident in this work since he has been able to trace the changes in the meaning of words through different epochs. His English style is also simple, straight-forward and dignified.

The extent of the study and investigation which has gone into "ஊரும் பேரும்" is not easily gauged. It is not a book which one reads continously, and hence has to be used as a work of reference to estimate its importance and its erudition. His book on Tiruvalluvar was again a first work of its kind, and R.P.S. did not hesitate to expound his views and analyse the work and its commentary with a critical attitude. Referring to translations of Tirukkural, R.P.S. writes:

> "இன்னும் வடமொழியாய ஆரியத்திலும் இந்நூல் மொழிபெயர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளதென அறிகின்றோம். இவ்வாறு காலதேச வரையறையின்றி உலகினர்க்கெல்லாம் ஒரு தனி நூலாய் நாயனார் நூல் விளங்குவதை நன்கறிந்த ஒரு புலவர், 'வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக்கே தந்து வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு' என்று மனமகிழ்ந்து வாழ்த்தினார். ஆயினும் மொழிபெயர்க்கின்ற பேராசிரியர்கள் இந்நூல் வளத்தால் தம் மொழியும் மேம்பட வேண்டுமென்னும் விழுமிய நோக்கத்துடன் தமது பணியைச் செய்யவேண்டும். அவ்வாறன்றித் தமிழ்நூலைத் தம் மொழியில் மொழிபெயர்த்தமைத்துக் கொண்டு சூழ்ச்சிகள் பல செய்து, இன்னும் சில காலத்தில் தம் மொழியிலேயே இந்நூல் முதல் நூலாக இயற்றப்பெற்றதென்றும், ஆசிரியர் திருவள்ளுவனார், அதனை மொழிபெயர்த்துத் தமிழுலகிற்குத் தந்தாரென்று நன்றிகொன்று உயிர் வாழும் நச்சுத்தன்மை தவிர்த்து நன்னோக்கமே தலைப்படுமாயின் தமிழ்நாடு தழைத்தலோடு ஏனைய நாடுகளும் ஏமம் உறும்." [9]

R. P. S. was keenly aware of the negligible work done in India in the field of Comparative Dravidian Philology since the publication of Caldwell's great book a hundred years ago. Hence he organised with the aid of the other Dravidian language Departments of the University of Madras, the publication of a Comparative Vocabulary of Dravidian Languages. The first volume

[9] திருவள்ளுவர் நூல் நயம், Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Works, Madras, 1956, p. 23-24.

of that work has been issued, and its production is itself a tribute to R. P. S.[10]

Doctor R. P. Sethupillai as a scholar, critic, and writer wielded a great influence in the Tamil country during the years he was associated with the Universities of Tamil Nad. He was not an original thinker and Philosopher like Thiru Vi. Ka. He was not a controversialist and commentator and pioneer of Tamil prose like Maraimalai Adigal, nor a research scholar like T. P. Meenatchisundaram. Nor did he possess the creative versatility of his successor to the Chair of Tamil, Dr. M. Varadarajan. Above all R. P. S. was a fountain of Tamil learning. He was a brilliant conversationalist with an inexhaustible fund of narrative and episodes. He was the University Professor who chose to take his learning to the market place, and to imbue the Tamil country with a love for the land and for its literature. His memory will be long cherished by those who have known and loved him, by those who have heard his inimitable Tamil eloquence, and by all those who read his mellifluous prose.

10 For a list of his works see Article by N. Sanjeevi in R. P. S. Commemoration Volume.

The Rajarajeswara Temple of Sri Brihadiswara

J. M. SOMASUNDARAM

Tanchapuri: Tanjavur comes into prominence with Vijayalaya,[1] (C. 849) an erstwhile Pallava feudatory who wrested that city from the Muttarayar and founded there his capital and a temple to the Goddess Nisumbhasudani (Durga). This is the beginning of the rise of the Imperial Cholas (C. 849-1260) who for well nigh four centuries held aloft their banner magnificently. Their earlier conflicts were with the Rastrakutas of Malkhed, the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Pandyas in the South, the Hoysalas of Mysore and the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas in the Deccan. And the most outstanding figure of that line of Cholas was Rajaraja I, the tenth of the dynasty, and who founded the temple of Brihadisvara at Tanjore.[2]

Of the various dynasties that ruled over the country, the Cholas seem to have left in the Great Temple of Rajaraja I (903-910) a striking relic of their genius. It is a standing monument testifying to the grandeur and excellence of Chola architecture and sculpture. It is "by far the grandest temple in India," and no traveller to the East especially to South India has missed a visit

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1 ' He took possession of the town Tanchapuri which was picturesque to the sight, was as beautiful as Alaka, had reached the sky (by its high turrets) and the white wash of whose mansions (appeared like) the scented cosmetic (applied to the body) just as he would seize (by the hand) his own wife who has beautiful eyes, graceful curls, a cloth covering (her body) and sandal paste as (white as) lime in order to sport with her." The name *Tanchapuri* continued down to the Vijayanagar times (1500 A.D.), the country being called தஞ்ச ராஜ்யம் (vide *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. *IX*, p. 340) ".

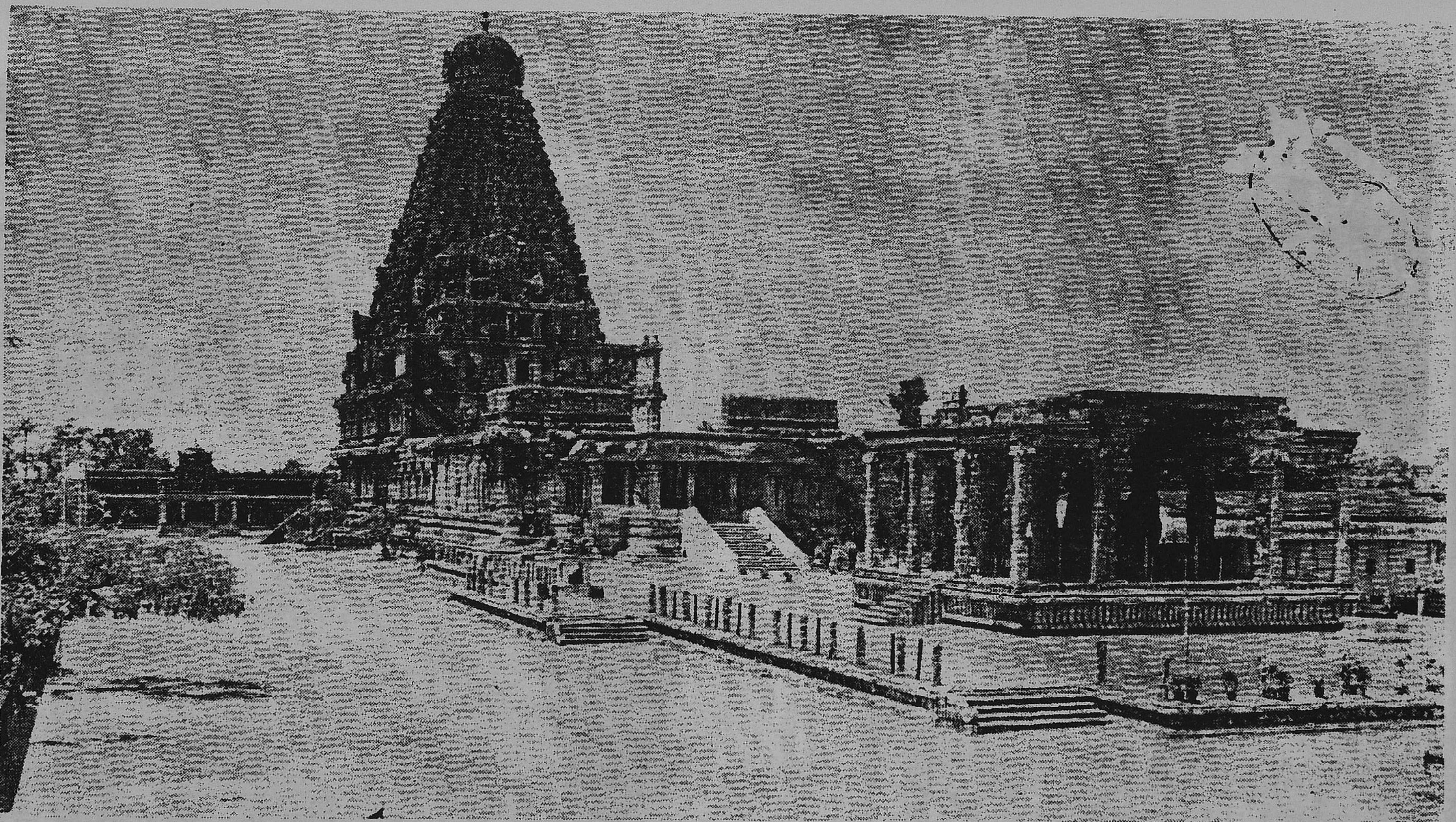
2 Tiruvalankadu grant of Rajendra I: *Epi. Ind., XIII.* p. 136. Kanya Kumari Inscriptions of Vera Rajendra Deva. Epi., Ind., XVIII, p. 42.

to the great edifice or failed to be impressed by its majesty and beauty. It is noteworthy that unlike other temples of the south, this temple was built completely with its necessary adjuncts in the time of Rajaraja I (C. 985-1013), himself the founder of the temple "on a well defined and stately plan which was persevered in till its completion".[3] It is seen that it was begun in the 19th year of his regnal year A. D. 1003, and completed within a period of seven years when the Chola Emperor was not engaged in any wars. This was probably the time, when for the first occasion, the birudas *Sri Rājarāja* and *Sivapādasekhara* were conferred on him by the Dikshitars of the Chidambaram temple; and the new name was adopted to name the foundation of the temple. This is borne out by the additional fact that "Sri Rājarāja" occurs for the first time in the inscriptions of his nineteenth year, his original name being Rajakesari Arunmozhi Varman.

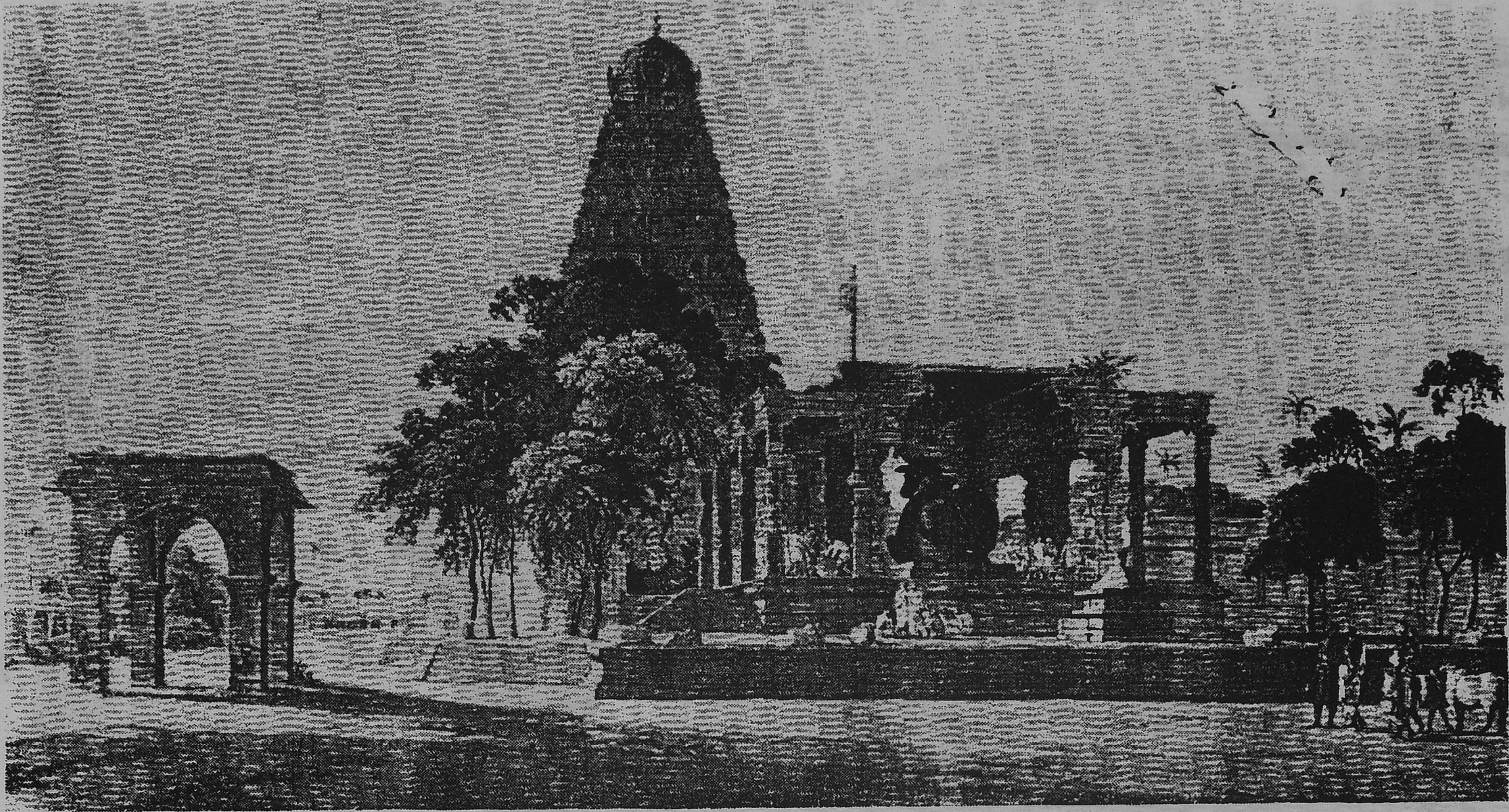
"Rajarajeswaram", as the temple was named by its founder, fills a large portion of the southern half of the small fort ascribed to Seveppu (A.D. 1544-72) partly encircled by a moat, and the Mettur Channel (which has been allowed to run into it.) It is entered by an imposing fortress gateway on the east, and a gopura entrance which leads through an outer court, once used as arsenal by the French and the English in 1772 during the early Carnatic wars. A second and more handsome gopuram gateway is then entered which ushers one into the main court in which the temple is built. The court which is 500 feet long and 250 feet broad, is well paved with brick and stone, and is surrounded on all sides by a pillared cloister with Sivalingas consecrated therein.

The main shrine of Sri Brihadisvara stands at the western end of the court, and, all around it are scattered mandapas and smaller shrines. Above them all rises

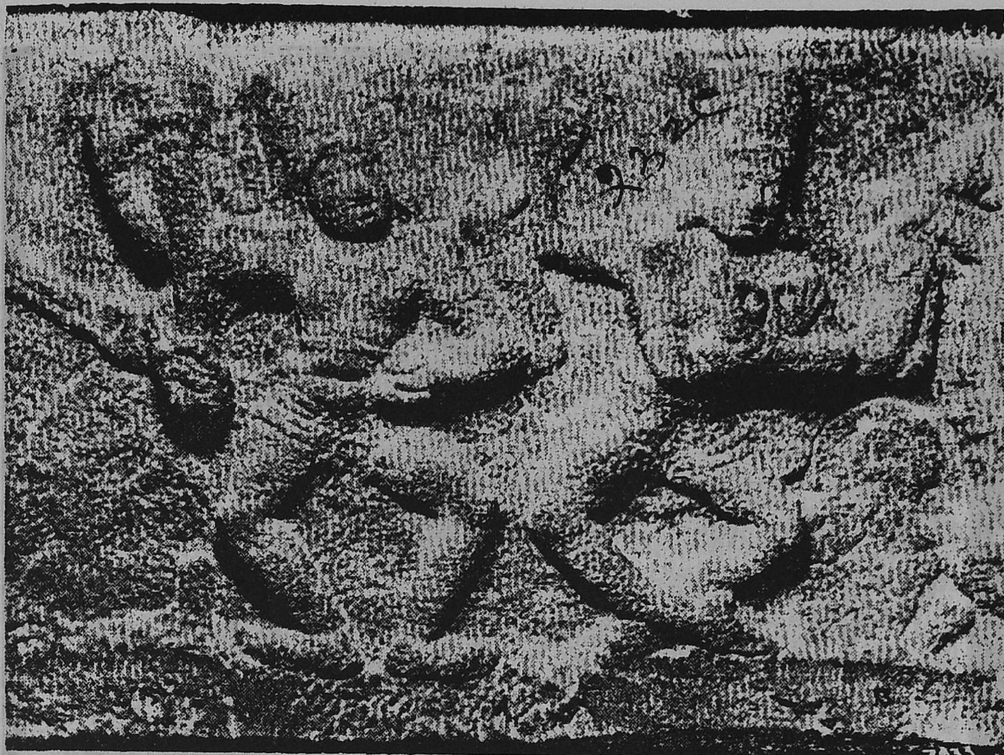
[3] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th edition, Vol II p 396



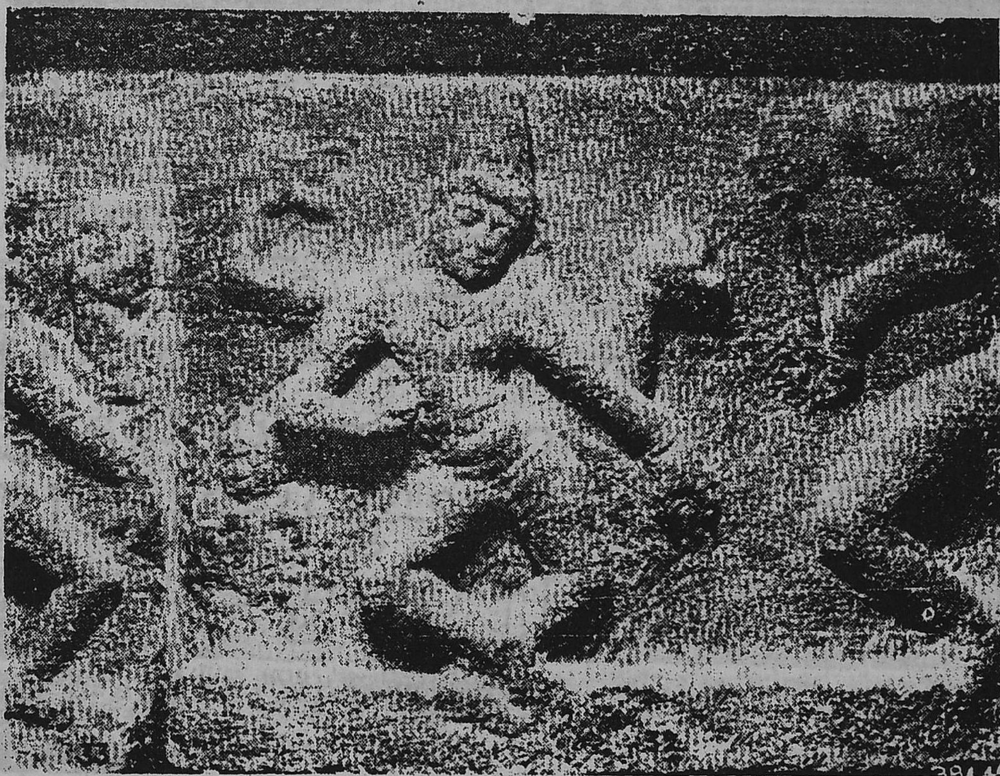
Brihadiswara Temple, Tanjore (General view from south-east)



Brihadiswara Temple — from an old Aquatint ('An-Hindoo-Idol') in the Fort Museum at Tanjore



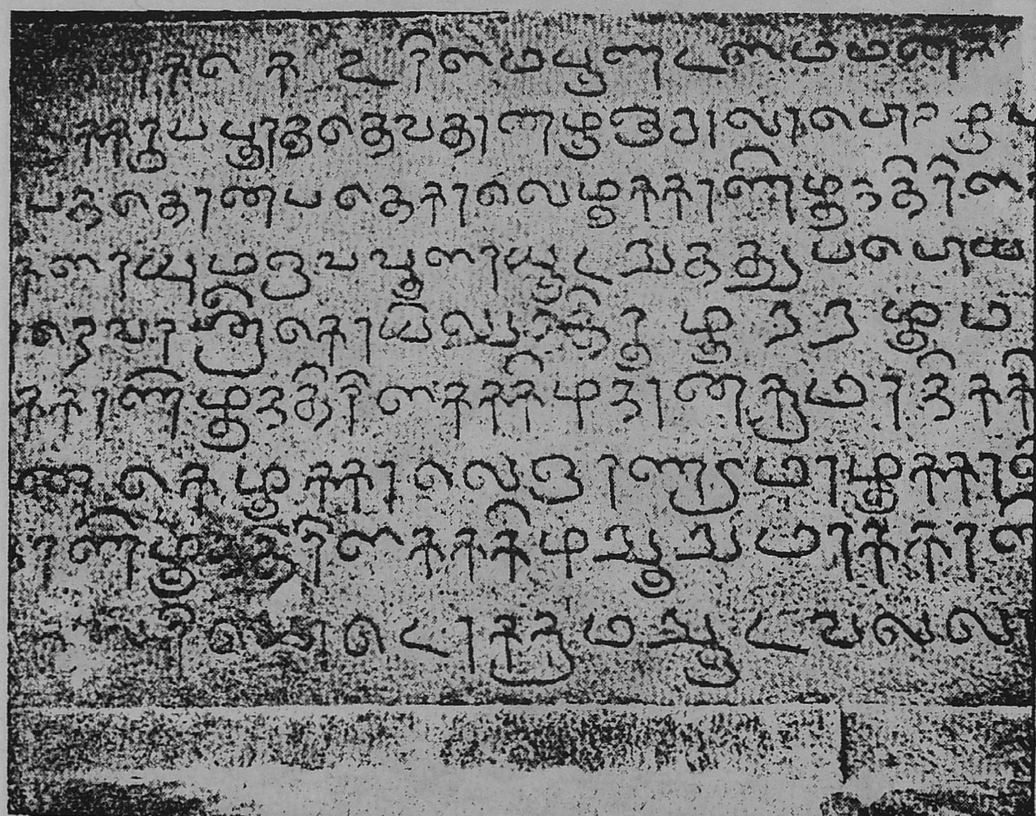
Brihadiswara Temple, Tanjore — Bas-relief of Siva-tandava pose on the South corridor of the first storey of the Vimana (Panels 13 and 14)



Brihadiswara Temple, Tanjore — Bas-relief of Siva-tandava pose on the South corridor of the first storey of the Vimana (Panels 33 and 34)



One of the frescoes 232d.



Inscriptions

to a height of about 216 feet, a most striking Vimana of fourteen storeys, which is finely decorated with pilasters and statues of various sizes. The basement of the structure which supports the tower is 96 feet square, and it is popularly believed that the final of the sikara or dome never throws a shadow on the ground. It rests on a single block of granite 25½ feet square, and weighing about 80 tons. This is believed to have been conveyed to the top of the Vimana up an inclined plane commencing from a village (as significantly so named) Sarapallam, — the scaffold-hollow — four miles north-east of the city.

Of the smaller structures inside the temple court, the shrine of Sri Subrahmanya in the north-west corner, that of the Goddess Sri Brihan-nayaki, and the colossal monolith of Nandi — the sacred Bull — opposite the main gopura entrance leading to the main court are worthy of note. The Subrahmanya shrine consists of a vimana 55 feet high, raised on a base 45 feet square, carved over with delicate figures and pillars and carried on along a corridor fifty feet long, communicating with another mandapa fifty feet square to the east. This shrine is pronounced to be 'as exquisite a piece of decorative art as is to be found in the south of India'; and as "a perfect gem of carved stone work, the tooling of the stone in the most exquisitely delicate and elaborate patterns is as clear and sharp as the day it left the sculptor's hands."[4] This shrine is not referred to in the temple inscriptions, and is probably a few centuries more modern than the main temple. It is popularly believed that this is a reverential contribution of the chief (Silpi) sculptor, who while absorbed in work stretched out his hand to his attender, and in his absence having been served with *pan-supari* by the Nayak ruler himself (having gone there unnoticed to look at the work in progress) wanted to expiate that irreverence by

[4] Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 343-5.

constructing this masterpiece of art. The shrine is held in high esteem, and St. Arunagiriar has four invocatory verses on the deity in his immortal '*Tiruppugazh*'.

The Sri Brihan-nayaki shrine is also a later addition constructed in the second year of a Konerinmaikondan probably a later Pandya ruler of the 13th century A.D. The cloisters by the side of the main temple appear to have been added to by Rajaraja's general, Raman Krishnan Mummadi Chola Brahmamarayan. The Dakshinamurti shrine is in a niche abutting the south wall of the central shrine, the approaching steps to it being a later addition. The Mahrathi inscriptions on the inner wall of the south enclosure — dated the Saka 1723 (A.D. 1801-1802) — state that the Mahratta ruler Saraphoji II executed elaborate repairs to the shrines of Ganesa, Subramanya, Goddess Brihannayaki, Sabhapathi, Dakshinamurti, and Chandeswara; built one or two mandapas, and renovated the prakara walls, the temple (madap-palli) and the flooring of the main courtyard.

The monolithic Nandi, within an elaborately worked Nayak mandapa, is massive and its pose natural and striking, and its grandeur is all the more effective in its not being well carved. Its height is over twelve feet, its length nineteen and a half, and its breadth eight and a quarter feet.

Behind the main temple, and, under shade of a neem and a mandharai is a modern shrine dedicated to St. Karuvoorar. The saint is held in great veneration, and is believed to work miracles to his devotees; the *Karur-Purana* states that the saint helped Rajaraja I in the installation of the sacred Linga in the sanctum-sanctorum at the time of the consecration of the temple, and in memory whereof a place is assigned to the saint within the temple quadrangle. Thursdays are held sacred for his worship, and he attracts large crowds of

devotees. The shrine was raised by his votaries about sixty years ago.

A peculiarity of the main temple is that many of the sculptures on the gopuras belong to the Vaishnavite cult, while those in the courtyard are on the Saivite pattern. Fergusson thinks that this is 'an instance of the extreme tolerance that prevailed at the age at which it was erected before these religions became antagonistic'. It may here be noted as evidenced by the Leyden Grant, that Rajaraja, a devout Saivite bestowed large endowments on a Buddhist Vihara built by a feudatory king near Nagapattinam, and also remitted the taxes on many items of property held by the Jain monasteries. Another peculiarity is that on the northern side of the temple vimana are carved four human figures. Tradition has it that the mason in charge of the construction, Somavarma by name, an inspired one from Kanchi carved the figures of a Chola, a Nayak, a Maharatta and an European to show the prospective line of rulers of this Choladesa in succession. It is probable that both the European and Vaishnavite figures were erected by the Nayaks, (who built most of the Vaishnavite temples in the district) and, that they were introduced shortly before or shortly after the acquisition of Tranquebar by the Danes in c. 1620. Hemingway thinks that the European figure may be that of Roeland Crape, the pioneer of Dutch enterprise in the country, and his surmise seems plausible since he was a *persona grata* with the Nayaks. Another view is that the figure represents Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller to the East — c. 1288-93.

North-west of the temple, and within the small fort is the sacred Sivaganga tank, the *theertha* of the temple, wherein is located an island shrine to Sri Lokanatha Eswara finding a mention of it in the Kshetra list of Saint Appar. Adjoining it, to the east is a Park, a library and buildings occupied by public offices.

The temple is assuredly a stupendous monument embodying the religious inspiration of its founder. The base and various portions of the temple are thickly covered with inscriptions of which almost all have been copied, translated and published by the Department of Archaeological Survey in South India Vol. II, Parts, 1-5. The enormous endowments in lands and gold made to the temple show that the king's sole object in his later life was to leave no want of the temple unsupplied. Almost all the booty he acquired in wars, he gave away to the temple, utensils required for the temple services, ornaments for the various images set up in the temple, villages for supplying the temple with the requisite amount of paddy, money for purchasing the various articles for the temple use, not omitting even Camphor, Cardamom seeds, *Champaka* buds and *Khus-khus* roots required for scenting the bathing water of the God, sheep, cows and buffaloes for supplying the ghee required for lamps, skilled musicians for singing the *Tevaram* hymns, dancing girls, Brahman servants for doing the menial work in the temple; accountants, the temple-treasurers, goldsmiths, carpenters, washermen, barbers, astrologers and watchmen were provided on a large scale. This grand undertaking of Rajaraja must have created an admiration of him in the minds of his subjects, and the several incidents connected with its foundation and its equipment appear by themselves to have become the theme of popular stories. For, in A.D. 1055 the fourth year of Rajendra I, a provision is made for the performance of the drama "*Rajarājeswara Nataka*" on one of the festive days in the temple and another for the reading of a play '*Rajaraja Vijayam*'. Both the plays are now obsolete. And instead, a *Sarabendra Bupala Kuravanchi Nataka*, in honour of Saraphoji is being enacted on the ninth day of the annual Chitra festival in the month of April-May each year.

Rajaraja's great interest in Art, Music and dance is further evidenced in his inscriptions. They speak of

the institution of Dance Schools, the employment of four hundred danseuses to dance, forty-eight men for *Tevaram* recitals, and a host of servants to help at divine services at the temple. The many sculptures found on the temple walls and particularly the Eighty-one *Natya mudras* in stone of Lord Siva, as now found on the first floor of the temple, testify to the contribution that Rajaraja made to Chola Art and Culture.

The Chola Frescos discovered in 1933 by Mr. S. K. Govindasami of the Annamalai University,[5] within the circumambulatory corridor of the *ardha mandapa* is of great interest. This discovery is an event of considerable importance to the history of South Indian painting. They are the first yet discovered Chola specimens after those Pallava paintings of the Kanchi Kailasanatha temple noticed by Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil.

The passage of the corridor is dark, and the enthusiast finds the walls on either side covered with two layers of paintings from the floor to the ceiling. Those of the upper layer are of the Nayak period as the paintings are labelled in Telugu characters, and there is a mention of the names of Sevappu and Achyutappa. The earlier Chola frescos lie underneath. It may be that, in the hands of successive rulers, a Nayak thought it necessary to repaint the walls and the painter covered the older paintings by a thin coat of plaster and executed his own work thereon. This later Nayak layer as then found crumbling in places revealed to the discoverer the Chola frescos underneath. Thanks to the Department of Archaeological Survey of India, the paintings have been selected for preservation, and many of them stand out as perfect specimens of Chola Art.

An ardent spirit of Saivism is expressed in the Chola frescos. They probably synchronise with the

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5 Journal of the Annamalai University: 1933 II. i. pp. 1-10; J. I. S. O. A. 1934 p. 71-80 with plates.

completion of the temple by Rajaraja. Saivism was at its height at the time, and the Cholas were pre-eminently of that faith. A few of these paintings are catalogued below.[6]

1. "Siva in his abode of Kailasa is sitting in an easy pose on a tiger skin with a band passing round his waist and the right knee as in yoga. The front right arm is gracefully resting on the right knee while the other arms are not clearly visible. A fantastic crew of dwarfs possibly the Sivaganas are painted behind him. Nandi the bull is lying couchant near Siva. At the opposite end of the picture a group of devotees mostly rishis are found. Midway between Siva and the devotees a couple of Apsaras are dancing. Siva is painted red, and there is a rishi who is of bluish complexion."

2. "Saints Sundara and Ceraman. This group is just below the former. The centre is occupied by a fast moving white elephant, a four tusker, and a youthful rider is seen mounted on it. He has a pair of small cymbals which are used to keep time while singing devotional hymns. Another man squarely built is majestically riding on a prancing white horse which is leading the elephant. Both the animals are wading through what looks like a river. Fishes and other aquatic creatures are shown as swimming in the river. At the right and the left top corners of the picture, groups of celestial beings are painted, half hidden by clouds. The right group consists of a pair of dancing *Apsarasas* and of Gandharvas showering lotus petals on the riders below, sounding of cymbals and playing on the mridanga and kotti mattala. The left group consists of three or four rishis dimly visible through a film of dust."

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6 See *Cola Painting* by S. K. Govindaswami, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, pp. 71-80, 1934, Calcutta. Also *The Colas* by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, "I have examined the paintings round the garbha-graha of the Tanjore temple; it seems possible that a stalwart royal figure which recurs in many of those groups as the central figure is that of Rajaraja himself, and that the paintings are as old as the temple." See also Author's *The Great Temple at Tanjore*, 1958. 2nd Edition. p. 22-24.

3. "Saint Sundara and Siva. This picture is painted below the above one. A group of men young and old is assembled in a pillared hall. In their midst two men are standing facing each other. One of them is an old man bent double with age. He is holding a leaf umbrella with one hand and with the other he evidently shows what looks like a Kharjjura leaf. The other is a youth. He stands in an attitude of respect with hands folded. A whole gamut of feelings ranging from indignation to scepticism is portrayed in the faces of the assembled men. To the right of this picture is a temple into which a crowd of men is hurrying."

4. "A domestic scene. The bottom-most panel represents a few women engaged in cooking and in other culinary operations. A man probably a labourer is receiving food from a woman of the household."

5. "Nataraja and His devotees. On the other part of the west wall, this picture figures on a grand scale. At the top, a part of the tiled roof of a hall is visible, and it closely resembles the Kanakasaba or the Golden Pavillion of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. An outstretched left hand holding the fire on its palm and a side of the sinuous body indicate the figure of Nataraja. To the right of this fragment, a stately personage is sitting in the pose of adoration. Three women with folded hands are standing in a line with him. Two men, with silver rods in their hands are stationed outside the hall, and evidently they are attendants. Below, this, there is another group drawn on a smaller scale. It consists of four damsels in the worshipping attitude. Still lower down some men are painted in different poses of adoration." — A masterly sketch of Kanaka Sabha!

6. "On the wall opposite to the above panel there are some fine drawings of the fair sex. Two exquisitely shaped women, with high cast fingers are seated in a graceful pose. Just below them three female heads with

refined features are peeping through the opening in the upper layer of plaster. By the side of this picture, a bevy of about a score of women is painted in a curious perspective. The whole group is on a small scale, too small for mural painting, and the details are put in with a delicate brush. The first three figures are splendidly drawn."

7. "Siva as Tripurantaka. Turning to the north wall, we meet with a grand picture. The design is generous and impressive. The subject also lends itself to such a treatment. It is a battle piece founded upon a puranic story, the destruction of the Asuras of Tripuri by Siva. The centre is occupied by the figure of Siva which dominates the whole design. This is a vigorous and powerful composition. Siva has a well modelled and massively built body with eight mighty arms weilding different weapons. He is kneeling on his left leg while the whole weight of the body is thrown forward on the seat of the chariot. An army of Asuras is painted as facing Siva. They are muscular men with fierce and fiery eyes fighting with a courage inspired by fear and despair. Here and there in the group are found weeping and terror-stricken rakshasa women clinging to the necks of warriors."

8. "Four god-like faces. Four life-sized heads are painted on another part of the north wall. They have kirita-mukutas and of complexion of white, red, yellow and green. They are of Siva, in His elemental colours, the fifth not being visible."

9. Rajaraja and St. Karuvoorar are two full length contemporary portraitures — those of the author and consecrator of the temple of Brihadiswara.

The temple and its adjuncts stand out as a glory of Chola art and culture, to be seen and admired for all times.

Tamil Sources of Some Sinhalese Literary Works with Special Reference to Lokopakaraya

P. B. J. HĒVĀWASAM

The fact that the language and literature of the Sinhalese exhibits many features in common with Tamil, has prompted scholars like Rev. Fr. S. Gnānaprakāsar [1] and the late Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate,[2] categorically to state that the foundation of Sinhalese is Tamil. However that may be, one has to admit that Tamil has influenced Sinhalese in many ways, one of which is the similarity in shape of certain letters of the alphabet e.g. ஈ. In both languages the main component in the letter is the symbol for 'r'. Some maintain that practically all the letters in the Sinhalese alphabet have been developed from Tamil forms because of the similarity of the two alphabets: e.g. அ, இ, உ, க, த, ப, ய, ல, வ. The Karnataka alphabet is also supposed to bear a resemblance to the Sinhalese: "The alphabet which is peculiar to the Sinhalese and not used for any other language, in its general characters bears a considerable resemblance to the ancient Karnataka as seen in the copper plates of a grant made to the Syrian Church by one of the early native princes, the date of whose reign is not known" — (The Rev. Mr. Hardy). But this view is wholly untenable on account of the overwhelming evidence to the

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1 The Dravidian Element in Sinhalese by Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., Vide *J.R.A.S.* (*Cey. Br.*) Vol. XXXIII, No. 89, 1936.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 235 and The Origin of the Sinhalese Language by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, 1918, pp. 13-18.

contrary, available from Sinhalese lithic and other records dating as far back as 3rd century B.C.[3]

Some of the morphological and syntactical elements of Sinhalese like the suffix "val" denoting the plural of certain names representing inanimate objects (dora, 'door', dora/val, 'doors'; ge, 'house', ge/val, 'houses') are loan-forms from Tamil (e.g. வீடு, வீடுகள்) A sentence pattern like Sinhalese maṭa baḍa giniy, 'I am hungry', is identical with Tamil எனக்குப் பசி, but is foreign to Sanskrit or Pali. Mudaliyar Gunawardhana enumerates twelve such correspondences.[4] There is a very large number of words of Tamil origin as well as loans from Tamil not only in the spoken but also in the written language including the language of some of the classics.

Tamil metres have been freely used in Sinhalese poetry, and have been so acclimatized in Sinhala environment that many people do not know that they are pure and simple Tamil metres. One could definitely and without hesitation recognize a Sanskrit metre used in Sinhalese, but not so a Tamil one, because the former has a distinct pattern absent in the regular Sinhalese metres, while the latter seems to be more akin to the Sinhalese:—

(1) Prēmē, prēmē, prēmē:
prēmaya nivi täna, prēmaya nivitäna,
karumē, karumē, karumē.[5]

(2) sihi nayak ditim-davasak
pera nuduṭu ruvak
lehi atak täbī-kavudō
nodat vata gotak

[3] Observations made by Mr. Julius de Lanerolle on Fr. Gnana Prakasar's paper quoted above. Vide *J R.A.S.* (No. quoted above), pp. 251-53.

[4] Vide "The Origin of the Sinhalese Language" by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, 1918, pp. 13-18.

[5] From a translation of Bharati's குயில் பாட்டு by P. B. J. Hevawasam, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Apr.-June 1959, p. 81.

kohi kavuda kiyā soyanuva
  balata äsa ayā
gehi ruvek no vī navamū
  säpa hadehi vinā.[6]

The verse patterns with a sort of catch word at the beginning or the end of lines, are also of Tamil origin :

(1) soba-maṅ madu rada haṭa dāvelā
nidu-kin numbe kusayen bihivelā
— Kusajātakaya.

(2) varala miyuru pil ayurā-paṭu
nalalada dada rada men dili pavarā
— Siyabasmaldama, 37.

(3) enavā kī boruvaṭa kara sattē — inda
pinavā sita un sanda ē vättē
danavā hada gini väda nonāvättē-mage
yanavā divi niyamay himi mattē
— Gajanāyaka Nilamē.

The following is yet another pattern which seems to be of Tamil origin :

sasa lapa näti sanda lesē
dosa kisi näti edigäsē
dasa bala dam asana vilasa
etän patva siṭa mesē
— Kāñcanadēvī Kathāva, 89.

Tamil influence on Sinhala, according to the evidence so far available, becomes established when Raja Raṭa (north-central part of Ceylon bounded by Däduru Oya and Mahaväli Ganga) was conquered by a Coḷian army headed by a prince called Māgha, who held sway over that land for a time. From then on various types of Tamil books came to be read and studied in the island.

6 From a translation of Bharati's கண்ணன் என் காதலன் by P. B. J. Hevawasam.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that there is a word very peculiar to Sinhalese in the 48th stanza (canto 6) of *Kavsilumiṇa,* the foremost Sinhala poem (circa 12th or 13th century), *mēlap,* 'canopy'. Commenting on this Ven'ble Väliviṭiyē Sōrata Nāyaka Thēra, Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University, Ceylon, says: "*Mēlap* is from the Tamil word மேலாப். The fact that this word has been used here in preference to the very well known word *viyan,* shows that even during the time of the composition of this poem there was many a bond between the Sinhalese and the Tamils even in the courts of kings."[7]

King Parākramabāhu IV (circa 14th century built a temple at Vīdagama near Raigama in Kalutara District and donated it to a Cōḷian Buddhist monk, who was his tutor:

> Subhe vidduma gamasmim — rājaggāma purantike
> varam siri ghanānandam — parivena samāyutam
> vihāram kārayitvāna — subodhi paṭimāgharam
> attano garu colīya — mahā therassa dapayī
>
> — Mahāvamsa, Chap. 90, stanzas 98 and 99.

It is possible that from this time onwards Tamil assumed greater importance in this land. Tamil poems were studied in the privenas. The Pali Jātakaṭṭhakathā was translated into Sinhalese under the guidance of this Cōḷian monk. This translation contains many words and even constructions of Tamil origin.

During the time of King Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467 A.D.) too the study and cultivation of Tamil received much encouragement. This king had many connections with the Tamils. His chief minister was a Tamil prince from Kērala, Nannūrtunaiyār, who married Ulaikudai Dēvi, his daughter. Prince Sapumal or Sembagap-

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[7] Kav Silumina, ed. Sorata, 1946, p. 122.

perumāl and his younger brother, Prince of Ambulugala, adopted sons of the same king, were children born to a Sinhalese princess married to a Tamil prince from Cōḷa. Prince Sapumal ascended the throne of Kōttē under the title of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI (1468-1474 A.D.), and Ambulugala too reigned at Kōttē under the title of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (1484-1509 A.D.). The kings' chaplains during this time were Tamils again. King Parākrama VI's tutor and benefactor Mahā Vīdāgama Thera, became the Head of the Vīdāgama temple after the demise of the Cōḷian monk. This monk who according to tradition, was tutor to the famous S'rī Rāhula Saṅgharāja of Toṭagamuva Vijayabā Pirivena (another adopted son of King Parākramabāhu VI) must have been a Tamil scholar, having been heir to a Tamil tradition. Both S'ri Rāhula Thēra and Vīdāgama Maitrēya Thēra, no doubt, knew Tamil well. Pañcikā Pradīpaya of S'ri Rāhula Thēra mentions a Tamil glossary to the Pali Jātakaṭṭhakathā, which had been consulted by him, along with a host of other books, in the compilation of that work. Maitrēya Thēra's Lōväda Saṅgarāva, a didactic work, is said to contain several ideas identical with those found in நாலடியார்[8]. The main theme of Maitrēya Thēra's Budugunālaṁkāraya, is based on a lengthy passage from Butsaraṇa, a Sinhalese prose work on the life of the Buddha (13th c.) But verses 134-182 in the poem dealing with the poet's diatribe on the priests and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, especially Īsvara and Viṣṇu, as Mr. Peter Silva says, in the introduction to his edition of Lōkōpakāraya,[9] reflect the spirit of the Tamil poems of the Jains. They had a special aptitude and desire to speak most disparagingly of views contrary to theirs. There is evidence in the Sinhala Sandēśa poems to show that there was many a temple dedicated to the Hindu

[8] Ms. Copy of Lokopakaraya in the Ceylon University Library, Peradeniya, ed. M. H. Peter Silva.
[9] *Ibid*

deities like S'iva, Viṣṇu, Skanda, Ganēṣa, etc. all along the Western and Southern coasts of Ceylon. There was even a Kāli temple at Bentota.[10] In all these temples the Sinhalese and the Tamils had worshipped together.[11] There had been Tamil poets residing at Buddhist temples: "Worship at the Buddha image in Paiyāgala Vihāra, where there are resident Tamil poets versed in various grammars, and joyously depart" (Kōkila Sandēśaya, verse 95). All these facts could not but have influenced Sinhalese Language and Literature. The Sandēśa or Message poems which flourished during the 15th century, are also said to have been largely influenced by the Tamil Sandēśas of South India.

During the 16th and 17th centuries also the same system continued. How Rājasinha I of Sītāvaka (1581-1593 A.D.) was completely won over by a Tamil, Hindu priest and Diplomat called Ariṭṭakī Vendu, is recorded in history. Alagiyavanna the foremost poet of the Sītāvaka kingdom (16th and 17th cc.) gives us a hint that the educated men of his day were versed *not only in Pali and Sanskrit but also in Tamil*: "I shall interpret the great laws of conduct which have come to us from the mouths of the sages of old and which have been embodied in the books, and state their substance in Sinhalese rhymes for the benefit of the ignorant who have not studied Tamil, Sanskrit and Pali"—*Subhāṣitāya*, verse 4. During the time of the Nāyakkar kings of Kandy (18th and 19th centuries), there was much Tamil activity among the court circles, and this naturally had very great influence on the culture of the Sinhalese, especially their language and literature. An examination of the signatures of the courtiers and ministers of the king is a case in point. Chiefs like

10 Vide Parevi Sandesaya, verse 68.

11 Vide Parevi Sandesaya and Contemporary Society, by P. B. J. Hevawasam, Parts I and II. The Aloysian, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 176-184 and No. 3, pp. 352-364.

Āhälēpola and Molligoda signed in granta,[12] a Tamil script of South India, which has similarities to Brāhmi, Tamil and even Sinhalese scripts.

Complete Tamil works began to be translated into Sinhalese during this period. Unfortunately the culture of the Sinhalese had suffered so much by this time that none of these translations could attain any high standard. Among these is a work called *Mahā Padaraṅga Jātakaya,*[13] which is a Sinhalese version of the Mahābhārata disguised in the form of a Jātaka story, with its hero transformed into a Bodhisattva. The Sinhalese translator, a Buddhist monk from Kobbākaduva, a village in the present Kandy District, says in the introductory verse to the poem that he found a story of the Bodhisattva written down in Tamil, and that he is changing that into Sinhalese verse. According to him the Jātaka was told by the Buddha himself. We do not know the title of the Tamil book, which Kobbākaduva had before him, nor are we able to explain the name Padaraṅga. Whatever its immediate source may have been, the *Mahāpadaraṅga Jātakaya* is the longest Sinhalese poem so far published and in the printed edition it runs into one thousand five hundred and fourteen stanzas. The story begins at the tenth verse, after a brief introduction. In the Kālinga there lived a sage by the name of Pararāja, who through a miraculous union with a ferry girl called Pancakēra, obtained a son who was named Vētaviyakara (Skt. Vyāsa). This boy grew up to be a sage, and he was able to relate the past history of the world going back three kalpas, and also to foretell the future for the same length of time. The *Mahāpadaraṅga* story was related by Vētaviyākara. We can now see how the entire narrative, including this introduction was later turned into a Jātaka by the

12 Vide Kandyan Convention of 1815.
13 Ed. D. R. Seneviratna, 1929.

Buddhists.[14] "This work was composed at a time (1692 A.D.) when, owing to the very great influence exerted by the civilisation of South Indian kingdoms on Sinhalese political life and culture, many Sinhalese book were based on material drawn from Dravidian sources".[15]

The following are some of the other translations of the period, which may be traced to Indian literature, chiefly Tamil: Vētālam katāva, Rāmāyanaya, Vallimātā Katāva, Pattini Hālla, Valalu Katāva, Dinatara Katāva, Sinnamuttu katāva, Kāñcimālē, Sulambāvatī, katāva, Atulla katāva, Rāvanā Hēlla, Vayanti Mālē, Vitti hata, Hariccandra katāva.[16]

The *Vētālankatāva* gives in verse the *Vētālapañcaviṃsatikā* 'the twenty five stories of the Goblin', which appears in Sanskrit in the Brhatkathā of Ksemandra and the Kathāsaritsāgara of Sōmadēva. "The author, whose name is not known,[17] says that *Vētālaṅkatāva* existed in Tamil and that he was changing it into Sinhalese verse. We do not know whether the Tamil version was the translation of a Sanskrit work, or whether it came from a Prakrit original"[18] The Rāmāyana mentioned above is one found in Sinhalese folk lore, "which has also come through South India..." There are also poetical versions of the story of Rāma and Rāvaṇa called Rāvaṇakatāva kavi.[19] "A Sinhalese version of the first two chapters of the Rāmāyana was published by C. Don Bastian in 1886. This translation was made from the Tamil Kambarāmāyana by Don Jeronimous Vīrasekara Abhayagunawardhana in 1841 and revised by Bastian".[20] *Vallimātā katāva* was

14 Sinhalese Lit. by Godakumbura, p. 179.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
16 Vide Introduction to the Eng. Translation of Sidat Sangarava by James de Alwis (1852).
17 Sannasgala ascribes its authorship to the poet Kirimatiyava. Vide Sinhala Sahitya Vamsaya, p. 32.
18 Sinhalese Lit., Godakumbura. p. 182.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 348.

written in 1772 A.D. by Mudaliyar Abhayakōn Vijayasundara of Matara. " A delightful story found in Tamil connected with the six-faced god whose great glory has spread in the three worlds, has (thus) been put into Sinhalese verse by Mudaliyar Abhayakoon Vijayasundara" — colophon to *Vallimātā katāva.*[21] " The Dinatara kathāva contains the story of King Dintara who has won the hand of Suvinītā, the pretty daughter of King Abitara, by means of his magical powers. His minister who possesses similar powers, later falls in love with Suvinītā and acts treacherously towards his master. Various attempts made by the minister to win Suvinītā are narrated. At the end Dinatara kills his faithless minister and recovers Suvinītā." The story is from a Tamil source. The writer ends his work with the words.... " This book the story of which is sweet like ambrosia, was in Tamil and I have taken it to be true, and related it in the language of the wise (that is Sinhalese) ".[22] *The Sinnamuttu katāva* (ed. 1892), 'the story of Sinnamuttu' related in one hundred and seventy-nine stanzas by Sabē Vidānē (of Matara) was composed in the early nineteenth century, from materials supplied by Mudaliyar Illangakōn, received by the latter orally from Tamil.[23] *Sandasarākathāva* and *Nikinikathāva* also may have come from Tamil sources. " The first relates the story of King Sivadāsa of Madhura, his faithful queen Sandasarā and their son Aviraṅga. The Nikini-kathāva is a didactic and humorous poem which gives the tale of a faithless woman who sent her husband in search of *nikini* seeds so that she might enjoy unrestricted pleasure with her lover "[24] *Pattini Hālla* and *Vayanti Mālaya* mentioned above and another called *Pālaṅga Hālla* relate incidents connected with Pattini. The last of these is a beautiful poem dealing

21 Matara Sahitya Vamsaya — Weerasuriya, p. 213.
22 Sinhalese Literature — Godakumbura, p. 287.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

with the early incidents of the life of Kannakī and Kōvalan, and is a work of Tisimhala Kavitalaka of Vīdāgama. "Vayanti mālaya means 'garland of Vayanti', the latter name perhaps being the alternative for Mādēvi or Mādhavī, the dancing girl at the Cōḻian court. The poem relates the early part of the story of Pattini which deals with the illicit love of her husband, Kōvalan for the dancing girl".[25] The other two, 'the tale of Pattini' and the 'tale of Pālaṅga', (another name for Kōvalan) her husband, narrate the incidents that followed the unholy alliance referred to above. The two poems overlap to some extent, the former beginning with the evil dreams of Pattini and the latter with the description of the concert hall of the king of Cōḷa where the Mādhavī performed. Though they are of South Indian origin, local touch is noticeable in them, pointing to the hand of a Sinhalese Buddhist.* *Hariccandra Kathāva* referred to above is a poem consisting of 409 stanzas written in 1723 A.D. by a poet called Dodanvala Kivindu (the poet of Dodanvala). Hariccandra is the ruler of Ayodhyā in Jambudvīpa. He and his family are extraordinarily truthful and in an endeavour to safeguard their truthfulness, become the victims of a jealous sage, and suffer many a tribulation. The king becomes the servant of a dirty, old cemetry-keeper, and his queen and son slave for a Brahmin, when the son is bitten by a snake, and dies. The grief stricken queen takes the dead body to the cemetry-keeper, who at the time, happens to be her own husband. Neither party can recognise each other and the keeper refused to cremate the body without a fee. The queen runs back home to find the money, and is accused of a heinous crime even before she gets home. She is condemned to be put to death instantly. But the unexpected happens. The gods arrive on the scene, and every thing

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25 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

* Similar compositions exist in Tamil in the Batticaloa district of Ceylon. — Editor.

ends happily. The poet says that he is putting this story which he got from a Tamil work into Sinhalese verse for the delectation of the lovers of Sinhala.[26] All these poems were written probably during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when learning among the Sinhalese was at a very low ebb. Even the few learned men then were not versed in Sanskrit and Pali as in the past, but they seemed to have possessed a fair knowledge of Tamil and Tamil authors. That accounts for their turning to Tamil in place of the earlier Sanskrit and Pali for material for their works. The Sinhalese also possess a variety of panegyrics with a strong erotic element, which started with Pärakumbā Sirita (circa 15th century) and multiplied during the Kandyan times (17th and 18 cc.) I presume that these are poems written in imitation of a motif borrowed from நந்திக் கலம்பகம் in praise of Nandivarman III of Kānci (circa 8th or 9th cc.) and the other *Kalambakams.*

There is also a collection of thirty-five poems, a very large part of which is still in manuscript form, called kōlmura, woven round a Pāṇḍyan king named the three eyed Vīra Pāṇḍu, running into about 4,000 verses written in a variety of metres, the source of which has not yet been found. It is surmised that they are also translations from some Tamil works or oral traditions brought hither from South India by mendicants who came in the wake of Tamil princes and chiefs. Some of the shorter poems of the collection are still being recited in South Ceylon by a class of priests called *kapuvās*, at certain ceremonies which go by the names of *garā maḍu, devol maḍu, pān maḍu,* etc., performed during epidemics, famines, etc., to appease goddess Pattini and the like.

The didactic work referred to in the footnote on p. 5 namely Lōkōpakāraya of Ranasgallē Thēra, executed in

26 Sinhala Sahitya Vamsaya, by P. Sannasgala, pp. 58-61.

the year 1799 A.D.[27] contains a number of stanzas which can be traced to Valluvar's குறள்.[28] We shall mention here only such of them as have not yet been traced to any other source (except No. 7) and which point to direct translations from குறள்.

1. häma rasayaṭa ma vädi
   utum rasayaki suran budinē
   īṭat väḍi raseki
   tamā daruvan hänū subojun (9)

அமிழ்தினும் ஆற்ற இனிதேதம் மக்கள்
சிறுகை அளாவிய கூழ். (64)

2. degurun visin tama
   daruvanṭa dena nomada dananam
   viyatun sabā mäda
   inṭa idiriva silpa denu mäy (10)

தந்தை மகற்காற்றும் நன்றி அவையத்து
முந்தி இருப்பச் செயல். (67)

3. Sanda sanda kän sandun
   nomanda häma kal sisila vanu men
   utum maha sisileki
   gatey tama daruvan väkenavā (11)

மக்கள்மெய் தீண்டல் உடற்கின்பம் மற்றவர்
சொற்கேட்டல் இன்பம் செவிக்கு. (65)

4. Savana pinavana sav
   nadaṭa tuṭu vana dano levhī
   tama daruvan bolanda
   vadan no äsū keneki edanō (18)

குழலினிது யாழினிது என்பதம் மக்கள்
மழலைச்சொல் கேளா தவர். (66)

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27 There are different views concerning both the authorship and the date of this work.

28 Vide Appendix to Lokopakaraya, ed. M. H. Peter Silva (still in ms. form).

5. ȧma saptata ma vadi säpataṭa ma väḍi
   säpateki danuva däkuma sudanan
   iṭat väḍi säpeki
   nodäkīma kalekat dudanayan (22)

நல்வினைத்தி னூஉங்குந் துணையில்லை; தீயினைத்தின்
அல்லற் படுப்பதூஉம் இல். (460)

6. yamaku kaḷa yahapata
   sithi vanuyē lova napuru näti
   luhu dana kaḷa napura
   sita tabanuyē yahapatek näti

நன்றி மறப்பது நன்றன்று ; நன்றல்லது
அன்றே மறப்பது நன்று. (108)

7. ekakaṭa vati ekek
   samati anekek anek ekakaṭa
   tada pavana laduvat
   näva goḍa rataya muhuda no divē[29] (42)

கடலோடா கால்வல் நெடுந்தேர் ; கடலோடும்
நாவாயும் ஓடா நிலத்து. (496)

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[29] Here the first half of the stanza is as it were an inference arrivéd at from the second half, which alone conveys the meaning of the Kural verse, c.f. also

lovin ekek eka deyakata vey samata
venin anik deyakata anikek samata
nomin sulanga laduvat tada gım sapata
godin nava diyen ratayada no yanu yuta

— Subhasitaya, (61)

and

Yadasakya natacchakyam — yacchakyam sakyamevatat
nodake sakatam yati — na. ca naur gacchati sthale

— Hitopadesa, i, 94.

'One man in this world can excel in one type of work, and another in yet another type. Though the wind be fair the ship will not venture to sail on land ; nor will the chariot run on the sea though the weather may keep fine.'

8. diya tulehi dī mut
   goḍaṭa pat kimbul diya no labat
   ebävin aran van
   rupun noma nasat tänpattō[30]

நெடும்புனலுள் வெல்லும் முதலை ; அடும் புனலின்
நீங்கின் அதனைப் பிற. (495)

9. pin pav kaḷa satan
   eka tänadī ma balāgannē
   yāna vāhanavalä
   hindina vun samaharek usulat (105)

அறத்தாறிதுவென வேண்டா சிவிகை
பொறுத்தானோடு ஊர்ந்தான் இடை. (37)

10. sabā bīruka vū
    näṇ ätiyahu dat nomanda sonda sip
    rupu abimuvaṭa pat
    dubalayaku ata anagi avi väni (107)

வாளொடுஎன் வன்கண்ணர் அல்லார்க்கு ? நூலொடுஎன்
நுண்ணவை அஞ்சு பவர்க்கு ? (726)

11. surā pānaya kaḷa
    paviṭanaṭa denu mudu ovā bas
    diya tula van ekaku
    pulussana väni gini sulak lā (133)

12. surā sondak no vī
    minis guṇätiva un viteka vat
    anekaku surā bī,
    vindina duk nuduṭuda vareka vat ? (134)

களித்தானைக் காரணம் காட்டுதல் கீழ்நீர்க்
குளித்தானைத் தீத்துரீஇ யற்று. (929)

கள்ளுண்ணாப் போழ்தில் களித்தானைக் காணுங்கால்
உள்ளான்கொல் உண்டதன் சோர்வு. (930)

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30 Here the first half of the stanza alone conveys the meaning of the Kural verse ; the second half is in the nature of a maxim based on the first : 'Therefore the wise do not seek the enemy that has taken flight.

13. radun sevnā dana
    no ḷam nuduruva gini tapina men
    sihi nuvaṇin yedī
    sap radun men sitā häsirev.[31] (164)

அகலாது அணுகாது தீக்காய்வார் போல்க
இகல்வேந்தர்ச் சேர்ந்தொழுகு வார். (691)

14. amayuru vadan hära
    kuriru tada vadan dena dudanō
    vilikun pala damā
    no päsi pala budinnan äni vet (182)

இனிய உளவாக இன்னாத கூறல்
கனிஇருப்பக் காய்கவர்ந் தற்று. (100)

15. rā bī no hangavā
    saba mädaṭa gos unat karabā
    muva visuruṇu teme mä
    katā karavā sataṭa hangavā (184)

களித்தறியேன் என்பது கைவிடுக நெஞ்சத்து
ஒளித்ததூஉம் ஆங்கே மிகும். (928)

It may be possible to trace a few of these stanzas to other sources as No. 7 apparently has been, for it is not unusual for a general maxim to be found in more than one work, but it will be rash for any one to suggest that the author of *Lōkōpakāraya* did write them all either independently of குறள் or any other work or with the assistance of a source or sources other than குறள். That the writer has made use of a number of sources is not disputed.

The following are a few more stanzas from *Lōkōpakāraya* which may be traced to other Tamil works like நாலடியார் etc.:

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[31] Here too a few explanatory words not found in the Tamil, are noticeable, perhaps due to exigencies of metre. This is how its meaning goes: 'Those who associate themselves with princes will do well to conduct themselves with due presence of mind considering the latter as cobras, even as one desirous of the warmth of a fire keeps oneself neither too close to nor too far away from it.'

16. masuruvu danā dana
sudananaṭa pat sataṭa väḍa vē
karadiya mē raduṭa
asuva sata haṭa amā vana men (24)

பிறர்க்கு உதவி செய்யார் பெருஞ்செல்வம் வேறு
பிறர்க்கு உதவியாக்குபவர் பேறும்—பிறர்க்குதவி
செய்யாக் கருங்கடல் நீர் சென்று புயல்முகந்து
பெய்யாக் கொடுக்கும் பிறர்க்கு —நன்னெறி, 4

17. dat hī vat käkilä
nek kes suduvä gata räḷi vaṭī
yet lī etī gena
sit taruṇa bava no yē minisun (85)

சொல்தளர்ந்து கோல்ஊன்றிச் சோர்ந்த நடையினராய்ப்
பல்கழன்று பண்டம் பழிகாறும்—இல்செறிந்து
காம நெறிபடரும் கண்ணினார்க் கில்லையே
ஏம நெறிபடரு மாறு [32] —நாலடியார், 13

18. bera handa yodunakaṭa
äsē sena haṇḍa dolos yodanaṭa
dan dena tuman haṇḍa
äsē eka lesa siyal tilovaṭa (79)

கடிப்பிடு கண்முரசம் காதத்தோர் கேட்பா ;
இடித்து முழங்கியதோர் யோசனையோர் கேட்பர்
அடுக்கிய மூவுலகுங் கேட்குமே சான்றோர்
கொடுத்தா ரெனப்படுஞ் சொல் —நாலடியார், 100

19. kaḷa alpa pininut
nomanda sura nara säpat päminē
nuga biju vaṭin nägi
tura visal sā mandulu vana meni.[33] (221)

உறக்கும் துணையதோர் ஆலம்விந் தீண்டி
இறப்ப நிழற்பயந் தாஅங் கறப்பயனும்
தான்சிறி தாயினும் தக்கார்கைப் பட்டக்கால்
வான்சிறிதாப் போர்த்து விடும் —நாலடியார், 38

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32 The idea contained in the last line namely 'that such lustful people will not enter the path' of blissfulness is absent in the Sinhalese.

33 Here the thing compared to the banyan-seed, is not some little wealth in the hands of a virtuous man as in the Tamil verse, but a little virtuous act, and in consequence, the thing compared to the large tree too, becomes abundance of wealth in blissful abodes.

20. aga siṭa mulaṭa uk
kana väniya sudanange ita kam
dudanan samanga vanu
e mä mula paṭan agaṭa budinev (234)

கருத்துணர்ந்து கற்றறிந்தார் கேண்மை யெஞ்ஞான்றுங்
குருத்திற் கரும்புதின் தகைத்தரோ என்றும்
மதுர மிலாளர் தொடர்பு —நாலடியார், 211.

21. sudananṭa kaḷa väḍa
pala ne dey yana säkaya no sitav
neraḷu päḷayaṭa ädi
diya ma diya pala samaga gena dē (233)

நன்றி ஒருவருக்குச் செய்தக்கால் அந் நன்றி
"என்று தருங்கொல்?" எனவேண்டா—நின்று
தளரா வளர் தெங்கு தாளுண்ட நீரைத்
தலையாலே தான் தருதலால் —மூதுரை, 1.

The following are a few specimens of the writer's own translations from Kural :—

CHAPTER 42 — "ON LEARNING"

'SILPA IGENIMA', விகல்

1. ugata yutu yam deya
vatot eya häma diriya mā
yodā ugena mä eyānuva
divi rakinu väḍa sādē

கற்க கசடறக் கற்பவை கற்றபி
னிற்க வதற்குத் தக.

2. aṅka da akuru yana
me deka uganivu nisi lesa
minisat bava läbūvan
de nuvana nam ē tamā

எண்ணென்ப வேனை யெழுத்தென்ப விவ்விரண்டுங்
கண்ணென்ப வாழு முயிர்க்கு.

6

3. viyatun haṭa de äsa
 äti bavaṭa sakayek näti
 aviyat danan de nuvana
 de vaṇak vinā vena kima

கண்ணுடைய ரென்பவர் கற்றோர்முகத் திரண்டு
புண்ணுடையர் கல்லாதவர்.

4. kivi hamuva häma viṭa
 somnasa vaḍā säpa dē
 kivi viyova imahat duk
 domnasaṭa karuṇu ma vē

உவப்பத் தலைக்கூடி உள்ளப் பிரித
லனைத்தே புலவர் தொழில்.

5. silpa noma dat sata
 dat sata pasu pasa väṭet
 danavat danan abiyasa
 asaraṇa nidana dana men

உடையார்மு னில்லார்போ லேக்கற்றுங் கற்றார்
கடையரே கல்லா தவர்.

6. kaṇina pamaṇaṭa yaṭa
 ūlä diya väḍi väḍiyen
 galā ena lesa nuvaṇa da
 igänuma anuva väḍi vē

தொட்டனைத் தூறு மணற்கேணி மாந்தர்க்குக்
கற்றனைத் தூறு மறிவு.

7. divi him koṭa kenek
 sip nomuganiti pudumay
 viyatunaṭa säma raṭa gama
 siya raṭa siya gama väni

யாதானு நாடாம லூராமா லென்னொருவன்
சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு.

8. ek at baveka yam
 dänumak labā gata hote
 at bav satak piṭa
 säpa labā denu samatī.

ஒருமைக்கட் டான்கற்ற கல்வி யொருவற்
கெழுமையு மேமாப் புடைத்து.

9. vijat tama danumata
 tava danuma ek kara lay
 deneta tama risschi
 santesa vadanu balamin

தாமின் புறுவ துலகின் புறக்கண்டு
காமுறுவர் கற்றறிந் தார்.

10. nonäsenasula eka mȧ
 danaya silpaya vē mäy
 e bävin anek dananata
 dana nama nam noma yedey

கேடில் விழுச்செல்வங் கல்வி யொருவற்கு
மாடல்ல மற்றை யவை.

CHAPTER VI — 'ON A GOOD HOUSEWIFE'

YAHAPAT BIRINDAKAGE ĀSIRVADAYA

'வாழ்க்கைத் துணைநலம்'

1. birindaka kerehi viya
 yutu häma guṇen liyaka hebiyat
 himi ayanuva mä väya
 kaḷoti niyamā birinda vanuyē

மனைத்தக்க மாண்புடைய ளாகித்தற் கொண்டான்
வளத்தக்காள் வாழ்க்கைத் துணை.

2. birindaka visin tama
   yutu kam kisit pähära haḷa hot
   häma vāsanā guṇa
   e gen päna yanu niyati säka nät

மனைமாட்சி யில்லாள்க ணில்லாயின் வாழ்க்கை
யெனைமாட்சித் தாயினு மில்.

3. birinda aganē nam
   duppat bavek e gehi äti veda
   äya veta agaya näta
   ehi danayak da tibenu bäri vē

இல்லதெ னில்லவள் மாண்பானா லுள்ளதெ
னில்லவள் மாணாக் கடை.

4. pativata miṇin hebi
   kataṭa vaḍanā manaram däyek
   muḷu lova mä sevuva da
   dakinu bäri mäyä diva äsin vat

பெண்ணிற் பெருந்தக்க யாவுள கற்பென்னுந்
திண்மையுண் டாகப் பெறின்.

5. yahanin nägeta tama
   himiṭa namadina suran no takā
   kata kiyana mehevara
   karanu duva ey mē rada pavā

தெய்வந் தொழாஅள் கொழுநற் றொழுதெழுவாள்
பெய்யெனப் பெய்யு மழை.

6. pativata suräka gena
   adara bäti pem vaḍā himiyana
   duka säpa soyana landa
   pādaparicārikā nam vē

தற்காத்துத் தற்கொண்டாற் பேணித் தகைசான்ற
சொற்காத்துச் சோர்விலாள் பெண்.

7. ḷandun guṇa rakinuva
samat piḷiyam ätot ekekī
nonäsena pativataṭa
sari kalaki rakavalek noma vē

சிறைகாக்குங் காப்பெவன் செய்யு மகளிர்
நிறைகாக்குங் காப்பே தலை.

8. utum put ruvanak
lat kata mä dev lovehı manaranı
us tän ganī an
ka haṭa piḷıvan vē da e kerum

பெற்றாற் பெறிற்பெறுவர் பெண்டிர் பெருஞ்சிறப்புப்
புத்தேளிர் வாழு முலகு.

9. miginduṭa sari gaman
ahitayanabiyasehi kämati sata
pataḷa guṇa gosa äti
labanu yāpati sahakāriyaka

புகழ்புரிந் தில்லிலோர்க் கில்லை யிகழ்வார்முன்
னேறுபோற் பீடு நடை.

10. lovà àma sápayaṭa mà
vaḍā garu saru nivesa utumī
e kuḷu gänvena yasa
siri mahangu daru sampata mä vē

மங்கல மென்ப மனைமாட்சி மற்றத
னன்கல நன்மக்கட் பேறு.

The twin epics of சிலப்பதிகாரம் and மணிமேகலை have already been translated into Sinhalese by Hissällē Dhammaratana Thēra, and before long திருக்குறள் too will be available in Sinhalese; and many more will follow suit. The Ceylon Ministry of Cultural Affairs is taking steps to get suitable Tamil works translated into Sinhalese, and *vice versa.* This venture should not

only enrich the languages of the two major races living in this Island, but also should help promote better understanding between the two peoples as did prevail in the not very distant past.

Acknowledgement: All the verses from Lōkōpakāraya quoted in the essay and the corresponding Tamil verses are from Lōkōpakāraya, ed. Mr. M. H. Peter Silva, Lecturer, Dept. of Sinhalese, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. This edition is still in ms. form and is available at the University Library, Peradeniya.

புறக்கணிப்பு

மு. வரதராசனார்

கோவலன் தன் கற்புடை மனைவி கண்ணகியோடு இல்லறம் நடத்திய காலம் சில ஆண்டுகள்; மாதவியைக் காதலியாகப் பெற்று அவளோடு அன்பாக வாழ்ந்த காலம் பல ஆண்டுகள். கண்ணகியை விட்டுக் காதலியை நாடிச் சென்றதுபோலவே, ஒரு நாள் மாலை மாதவியை விட்டு மனைவியை நாடித் திரும்பினான். அவனுடைய நெஞ்சத்து அன்பில் குறை இல்லை. ஆயின், அந்த அன்பு நெஞ்சில் கண்ணகியும் மாதவியும் ஆகிய இருவரும் ஒருங்கே இடம் பெற முடியவில்லை. ஒருத்தி இடம் பெற்றபோது, மற்றொருத்திக்கு இடம் இல்லாமற் போனது. ஒன்றில் முனைந்து நின்று, மற்றொன்றைப் புறக்கணிப்பது அவனுக்கு இயல்பாக இருந்தது.

அவனுடைய செயல்களும் அத்தகையனவாகவே அமைந்தன. ஒரு நல்ல செயலில் ஈடுபட்டபோது, அவன் மற்றக் கடமைகளை எல்லாம் மறந்துவிடும் இயல்பினனாக இருந்தான். ஒன்றைச் செய்யும்போது, மற்றவற்றையும் உடன் எண்ணிச் சீர்தூக்கிச் செய்யும் திறன் அவனுக்கு இல்லை; அவ்வாறு மற்றவற்றையும் உடன் எண்ணி அளவறிந்து செய்யும் திறன் இல்லை என்ற குறைக்கு ஈடு செய்யும் அளவிற்கு அவனிடம் சிறப்பு ஒன்று இருந்தது. அது தான், செய்யும் ஒரு செயலில் அப்போதைக்கு முழுதும் ஈடுபட்டுத் தன்னை இழக்கத் துணியும் துணிவு. அந்தத் துணிவையே, தளர்ந்த நடையுடனும் வளைந்த யாக்கையுடனும் வந்த முதியோனை மத யானையிடமிருந்து காத்த அஞ்சாச் செயலில் காண்கிறோம்; பொய்ச் சான்று சொல்லிப் பூதத்தின் ஒறுப்புக்கு ஆளான ஒருவனைக் காக்கும்பொருட்டுத் தன்னுயிரைத் தர முனைந்து 'என் உயிர் கொண்டு இவன் உயிர் தா' என இரக்கும் நிலையிலும் காண்கிறோம்.

எண்ணாது துணியும் இந்தப் போக்கு, கோவலனிடம் பலமுறை காண்கிறோம். பிறர்க்கு நல்லுதவி ஆற்றும் இடங்களில் மட்டும் அல்லாமல், பிறரைக் கைவிட்டுப் பிரியும் இடங்களிலும் காண்கிறோம்.

மாதவியின் அழகிலும் கலையிலும் ஈடுபட்ட நெஞ்சினனாக மாறியவுடனே, அன்றுவரையில் அன்பான இல்லறக் கிழத்தியாகக்

கொண்டு வாழ்ந்த கண்ணகியை மறக்கலானுன். "ஆருயிர் மருந்தே" என்று தான் போற்றிய மனையை மறந்தான்.

> **விடுதல் அறியா விருப்பினன் ஆயினன்**
> **வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின்தன் மனையகம் மறந்தென்**
> (*சிலப். அரங்கேற்று.* 174-175)

என இரண்டு அடிகளில் இளங்கோவடிகள் கூறும் வேகத்திற்கு ஏற்பவே, அவனுடைய வாழ்க்கையின் மாறுதலும் வேகமாக நேர்ந்தது. அங்கே விருப்பு, உடனே இங்கே மறப்பு என்பதை இளங்கோவடிகள் அடுத்தடுத்து இரண்டு அடிகளில் விரைந்து கூறி முடித்தல் காணலாம்.

இனி, அவன் மாதவியைவிட்டுப் பிரிந்த பிரிவைக் காண்போம்: கடற்கரையில் முன்னே கோவலன் பாடினுன்; பின்னர் மாதவியும் பாடினுள். கோவலன் பாடியதைக் கேட்ட மாதவி, "இவன் உள் ளத்தில் ஏதோ ஒரு மயக்கம் உள்ளது என எண்ணினுள். அதனுல் ஊடல் கொண்டாள். மகிழ்ந்தவள் போலவே நடித்து, ஊடல் கொண்டு பாடினுள். இவ்வாறு மாதவி ஊடல்கொள்ளுதல் புதிது அன்று.

> **நிலவுப்பயன் கொள்ளும் நெடுநிலா முற்றத்துக்**
> **கலவியும் புலவியும் காதலற்கு அளித்தாங்கு**
> **ஆர்வ நெஞ்சமொடு கோவலற்கு எதிரிக்**
> **கோலம் கொண்ட மாதவி** (*அந்தி* 31-34)
>
> **கூடலும் ஊடலும் கோவலற்கு அளித்துப்**
> **பாடமை சேக்கைப் பள்ளியுள் இருந்தோள்** (*கடலாடு.* 109-110)

என்று இளங்கோவடிகள் கூறுதலால், முன்னமே மாதவி ஊடல் கொண்டு பழகியவள் என்பதும், அதற்குக் கோவலன் உரிமை தந் துள்ளான் என்பதும் அறியப்படுகின்றன. ஆதலின், இன்று கடற் கரையில் அவள் ஊடியது குற்றம் என்று கூறுதல் பொருந்தாது. கோவலன் அதைக் குற்றம் என்றே கருதிவிட்டான். கருதினுன்; உடனே துணிந்தான்; வெறுத்துப் பிரிந்தான். "இவள் வேருெரு வகையில் மனம் வைத்துப் பாடினுள்; மாயப்பொய் பல கூட்டும் மாயத்தாள்" என்று உடனே முடிவு செய்தான்; பிரிந்துவிட்டான்.

அங்கு இளங்கோவடிகள் மாதவிக்காகப் பரிந்து கூறுகிருர். "பொழுது போயிற்று; ஆதலின் புறப்படுவோம்" என்று சொல்லிக் கோவலன் மாதவியையும் உடன் அழைத்துச் சென்றிருக்கலாமே, அவ்வாறு சொல்லிச் செல்லாமல், மாதவியைவிட்டுப் பிரிந்தானே என்று வருந்துகிருர். இவ்வாறு இளங்கோவடிகள் தம் காவிய மாந்தர்க்காக உள்ளம் இரங்கிக் கூறும் இடங்கள் மிகச் சிலவே.

உவவுற்ற திங்கள் முகத்தாளைக்
கவவுக்கை ஞெகிழ்ந்தனனாய்ப்
பொழுதீங்குக் கழிந்ததாகலின்
எழுதுமென் றுடனெழாது
ஏவலாளர் உடன் சூழ்தரக்
கோவலன்தான் போனபின்னர்த்
தாதவிழ் மலர்ச்சோலை
ஓதையாயத் தொலியவித்துக்
கையற்ற நெஞ்சினளாய்
வையத்தி னுள்புக்குக்
காதலனுடன் அன்றியே
மாதவிதன் மனைபுக்காள் (*கானல்வரி - இறுதி*)

என்று அவர் கூறுமிடத்தில், மாதவிக்காக இரங்கும் நெஞ்சம் புலனாகின்றது. இவ்வாறு இளங்கோவடிகளும் இரங்கத்தக்க வகையில், கோவலன் ஒன்றும் கூறி விடைபெறாமல் உடனே பிரிந்து சென்றான்.

பல ஆண்டுகள் மாதவியின் அன்பை உணர்ந்து மகிழ்ந்த கோவலன், அந்த ஒரு நாளில் திடீரென மனம் மாறி, "ஆடல் மகளே ஆதலின்..........." என்று அவளுடைய தொழில் பற்றிக் குறைகூறத் துணிந்தான். அதனால், வசந்தமாலை கொணர்ந்த மாதவியின் திருமுகத்தை மறுத்துவிட்டான். ஆயின், திருமுகம் எழுதி அனுப்பிய மாதவியோ அவ்வாறு எண்ணாமல் துணியவில்லை. எண்ணிப் பார்த்து, மீண்டும் அன்புகொண்டு காத்திருந்தாள். "மாலை வாரார் ஆயினும் மாணிழை காலை காண்குவம்" என்று சொல்லி எதிர்பார்த்திருந்தாள்.

கோவலனுடன் பல ஆண்டுகள் பழகிய மாதவி, அவனுடைய தன்மையை நன்கு அறிந்திலளோ, எண்ணாது துணியும் இயல்பை உணர்ந்திலளோ என வினவலாம். மாதவி அறியாள் எனின், அது அவளுடைய குறையே ஆகும். அந்தக் குறையைக் கோவலனிடம் கண்டிருந்தும், அன்புமிக்க வாழ்க்கையின் காரணமாக, "நம்மிடம் அவர் அவ்வாறு நடக்கமாட்டார்" என நம்பியிருந்திருத்தல் கூடும்.

ஆயின், மாதவியினிடம் பல ஆண்டுகள் அன்பு பூண்டு ஒழுகிய கோவலன், அவளுடைய உண்மையான நெஞ்சத்தை உணராதது குறையே ஆகும். அதற்கு அமைதி கூறுதல் எளிது அன்று. பல ஆண்டுகள் அன்பு மிக்க காதலியாகக் கொண்டிருந்து, ஒரு நாள் திடீரென ஒரு குற்றம் கண்டு அதன் காரணமாக, "ஆடல் மகளே" எனப் பழித்தல், எண்ணித் துணியும் பெற்றியார்க்கு ஒல்லாதது ஆகும்.

பல ஆண்டுகள் அவனுடைய அன்பைப் பெற்று வந்த மாதவி, "காலை காண்குவம்" என்று நம்பிக்கையோடு எதிர் பார்த்தல் பொருந்துவதாகும். அதனால்தான், முதல் திருமுகத்தை அவன் கடுஞ்சொல் கூறி மறுத்ததையும் அவள் பொருட்படுத்த வில்லை. மற்றும் ஒரு திருமுகம் எழுதியனுப்பினாள். கோவலன் மதுரைக்குச் சென்றான் எனக் கேள்வியுற்றதும் பெருந்துயர் அடைந்து எழுதியனுப்பிய திருமுகம் அது. அந்த இரண்டாம் திருமுகத்தில் மாதவியின் அன்பு மாற்றுயர்ந்து ஒளிர்கிறது. அந்தத் திருமுகத்தைக் கோசிகனிடம் தந்தபோதும், "கண்மணி அனை யாற்குக் காட்டுக" என்று தன் மாசற்ற அன்பு விளங்கக் கூறினாள்.

அடிகள் முன்னர் யானடி வீழ்ந்தேன்
வடியாக் கிளவி மனக்கொளல் வேண்டும்
குரவர்பணி அன்றியும் குலப்பிறப் பாட்டியோடு
இரவிடைக் கழிதற்கு என்பிழைப் பறியாது
கையறு நெஞ்சம் கடியல் வேண்டும்
பொய்தீர் காட்சிப் புரையோய் போற்றி (புறஞ்சேரி, 87-92)

என்பது அந்த இரண்டாம் திருமுகம். கோசிகனிடம் "கண்மணி அனையாற்குக் காட்டுக" என்று சொல்லிய சொற்களில் உள்ள மாசற்ற அன்பைவிட, இந்தத் திருமுகத்தின் எழுத்துக்களில் உள்ள அன்பு மிகப் பண்பட்டதாக உள்ளது. இந்தத் திருமுகத் தின் விழுமிய அன்புதான் கோவலனின் நெஞ்சை ஓரளவு மாற்றும் ஆற்றல் பெற்றிருந்தது. அதன் மொழிகளை உணர்ந்தானும் கோவ லன். "மாதவி குற்றம் இல்லாதவள். என் குற்றம்தான்" என்று உணர்ந்தானும்.

என்றவள் எழுதிய இசைமொழி உணர்ந்து
தன்தீது இலளெனத் தளர்ச்சி நீங்கி
என்தீது என்றே எய்தியது உணர்ந்து. (புறஞ்சேரி, 93-95)

ஆயினும், கோவலனுடைய இயல்பான குறை திருந்தவில்லை. ஒன்றே செய்வான்; அந்த ஒன்றைச் செய்யுங்கால், மற்றவற்றை எண்ணிப் பார்த்தலும் இல்லை என்பது அப்போதும் விளங்கியது. எவ்வாறு எனக் காண்போம்:

அந்தத் திருமுகத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்த கோசிகன், கோவல னிடம் முதலில் கூறிய செய்தி, "உன் தந்தையும் தாயும் அருமணி இழந்த நாகம்போல் உன் பிரிவால் பெருந்துயருற்று நைகின்றனர்" என்பதே. கோவலனுடைய நெஞ்சில் அவர்களின் துயரம்பற்றிய அச்செய்தி ஆழ்ந்த உணர்ச்சியுடன் நின்றது. ஆதலின், கோசி கன் தந்த திருமுகத்தினைப் படித்தபின், மீண்டும் தன் பெற்றோரின்

துயரத்தை நினைந்து வருந்தினான். அவர்களுக்கு ஆறுதல் கூற வேண்டும் என்ற ஒன்றே அப்போதைய ஆர்வமாயிற்று. அதனால் "என் பெற்றோரின் துயரத்தைத் தீர்க்க வேண்டும். அவர்களின் உள்ளத்தில் உற்ற துன்பத்தைக் களைவதற்காக நீ செல்க" என்று கோசிகனை வேண்டினான். மாதவி எழுதிய அந்தத் திருமுகத்தின் சொற்கள் மிகப் பொருத்தமாக அமைந்திருத்தலைக் கண்டு, "இதையே என் திருமுகமாகக் கொண்டு சேர்க்க" என்று கூறி அனுப்பினான்.

> **எற்பயந் தோற்கிம் மண்ணுடை முடங்கல்**
> **பொற்புடைத் தாகப் பொருளுரை பொருந்தியது**
> **மாசில் குரவர் மலரடி தொழுதேன்**
> **கோசிக மாணி காட்டெனக் கொடுத்து**
> **நடுக்கம் களைந்தவர் நல்லகம் பொருந்திய**
> **இடுக்கண் களைதற்கு ஈண்டெனப் போக்கி.** *(புறஞ்சேரி, 95-100)*

இங்குக் கோவலன் பெற்றோரின் துயர்க்காக வருந்தியதும், அவர் தம் துயரைத் தீர்க்குமாறு கோசிகனுடைய உதவியை நாடியதும் போற்றத்தக்கன. அவற்றால் அவனுடைய நன்னெஞ்சம்— நன்றி மறவா நெஞ்சம்—புலனாகிறது. ஆயின், ஒரு கடமையில் முனையும்போது, மற்றக் கடமைகளையும் மறவாமல் போற்றிச் செய்யும் திறன் அவனுக்கு உண்டா என்று ஆராய்தல் வேண்டும்.

திருமுகம் மாதவி அனுப்பியது; கோசிகன் மாதவியால் அனுப்பப்பட்டவன். அந்தத் திருமுகத்திற்கு மறுமொழி வரும் என்று மாதவி எதிர்பார்த்தல் இயல்பு. கோவலன் அதற்கு மறுமொழி தந்தானோ? இல்லை; திருமுகமாக எழுதியனுப்பாவிட்டாலும் வாய்ச்சொல்லாக வேனும் ஆறுதல் கூறியனுப்பினானோ? அதுவும் இல்லை. மாதவியிடம் வெறுப்புக் கொண்டு வாளா இருந்தான் என்று கூற இடம் இல்லை. அப்போதுதான்—அந்தத் திருமுகம் கண்ட நிலையில்தான்,—"அவள் குற்றம் இல்லாதவள். குற்றம் எனதே" என்று தளர்ச்சி நீங்கித் திருந்தி உணர்ந்தான். அவ்வாறு உணர்ந்த நிலையில், மாதவிக்கு ஆறுதலாகச் சில சொற்களும் கூறாமல் விடுதல் பொருந்துமா? அந்தத் திருமுகம் மாதவியினுடையது. அவளுடைய குறுநெறிக் கூந்தலின் மண்பொறி அதில் இருந்தது. அவளுடைய உரிமை முடங்கல் அது. அதைத் தன் பெற்றோர்க்கு உரியது ஆக்கினான் கோவலன். "பொற்புடைத் தாகப் பொருளுரை பொருந்தியது" என்று அதைப் போற்றும் நெஞ்சம் படைத்த அவன், அவ்வளவு பொருத்தமான திருமுகத்தைத் தனக்கு நல்கிய மாதவியின் உதவியைப் போற்றத் தவறிவிட்டான். அந்தத் திருமுகத்தைத் தன்னிடம் கொண்டு வந்த கோசி

கனே, மாதவியால் அனுப்பப்பட்டவன். மாதவி அனுப்பிய ஆளேயே தான் பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டு தன் பெற்றேரிடம் அனுப்பினுன். மாதவியின் திருமுகத்தையும், மாதவி அனுப்பிய ஆளேயும் பயன் படுத்திய கோவலன், அந்த மாதவிக்காக ஒரு சொல்லும் கூறி யனுப்பவில்லே. இது வருந்தத்தக்கது.

மாதவியைப் புறக்கணித்துக் கோவலன் நடந்த இடங்கள் மூன்று. ஒன்று, கடற்கரையில் கானல்வரிப் பாட்டைக் கேட்டு அவளிடம் ஒன்றும் கூருமல் வெறுத்து எழுந்து தனியே பிரிந்து சென்றது. மற்ருென்று, மாதவி வசந்தமாலேயிடம் கலேச் செல்வ மான திருமுகம் அனுப்பியபோது அதைப் பெற மறத்து "ஆடல் மகளாதலின் அவ்வாறு ஒழுகினுள்" என்று பழித்துக் கூறியது. இன்ஞென்று, மாதவியின் மாசற்ற அன்பைப் புலப்படுத்தும் இரண்டாம் திருமுகத்தைக் கோசிகனிடம் பெற்றபோது, அவளுக்கு மறுமொழியாக ஒன்றும் கூறியனுப்பாமல் விட்டது.

முதல் புறக்கணிப்பின்போது, காவிய ஆசிரியர் மாதவியின் சார்பாக இருந்து தாமே சில சொல் கூறி இரங்குகிருர். "பொழுது ஈங்குக் கழிந்ததாகலின் எழுதும் என்று உடனெழாது" என்பது இளங்கோவடிகள் தாமே உணர்ந்து கூறும் கூற்று ஆகும். இரண் டாம் புறக்கணிப்பின்போது, அவர் தாமே ஒன்றும் கூருமல், கதைப் போக்கில் மாதவியின் துன்பத்தைப் புலப்படுத்துகின்ருர். ஆயின், மூன்ரும் புறக்கணிப்பின்போது, தம் உணர்ச்சியாகவோ, கதைப் போக்காகவோ அவர் ஒன்றும் கூறவில்லே. மாதவிக்கு மறு மொழி அனுப்பக் கோவலன் புறக்கணித்ததுபோல் நாமும் புறக் கணிக்க வேண்டும் என்று விரும்பினுர் போலும்!

கடற்கரையில் நேர்ந்த முதல் புறக்கணிப்பின்போது இளங்கோவடிகள் தம் உணர்ச்சியைக் கூருமல், கதைப் போக்கை மட்டும் கூறிச் சென்றிருந்தால் குறை நேர்ந்திருக்காது. மாதவி, "கையற்ற நெஞ்சினளாய் வையத்தினுள் புக்க" நிலேயைக் கண்டே நாம் வருந்தியிருப்போம். கதைக்கு அந்த அளவு கூறுதலே போதும். ஆயின் அந்த அளவோடு நிற்காமல், "பொழுது போயிற்று. புறப்படுவோம் என்று மாதவியிடம் கூறி உடன் அழைத்துச் செல்லவில்லேயே" என்று தாம் உணர்ந்ததையும் இளங் கோவடிகள் கூறியிருப்பது, நம் உணர்ச்சியைப் பெருக்குகிறது.

இரண்டாம் புறக்கணிப்பின்போது, மாதவி கோவலனின் எதிரே இல்லே. வீட்டில் இருந்தாள். திருமுகத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்த வசந்தமாலேயிடம் தன் புறக்கணிப்பைப் புலப்படுத்தினுள். அதை மாதவி கேட்டறிந்தாள். "கையறு நெஞ்சமொடு பூவார்

அமளிமிசைப் பொருந்தாது வதிந்தனள்" என்று இளங்கோவடிகள் கதைப்போக்கில் கூறுவது பொருந்துவதாக உள்ளது.

மூன்றும் புறக்கணிப்பின்போதும், மாதவி அவனெதிரே இல்லை. கோசிகன் அவளிடமிருந்து திருமுகம் கொணர்ந்தான். கோவலனின் புறக்கணிப்பை அவனே கண்டான். மாதவியால் ஏவப்பட்டுவந்த வேலையை நிறைவேற்றுமல், கோவலன் ஏவிய வேறு வேலையை மேற்கொண்டு திரும்பினுன். திருமுகத்திற்கு மறுமொழி தந்தால் மாதவியின் கையறு நெஞ்சத்திற்கு ஆறுதலாகும் என்று அவனும் கேட்டுப் பெறவில்லை. கோவலனும் தன் கடமையை உணரவில்லை. இளங்கோவடிகளும் புறக்கணித்து அப்பால் செல்கின்றுர். கோவலனது புறக்கணிப்புக்குக் காரணம் அறிவோம். ஒரு கடமையில் முனைந்தபோது, மற்ருென்றை மறக்கும் இயல்பினன் அவன் என்று உணர்ந்து நம் மனம் அமைதியுற முடியும். ஆயின் இளங்கோவடிகளின் புறக்கணிப்புக்குக் காரணம் கூற இயலாமல் வருந்துகிறேம்.

கதையின் வேகத்தைக் கருதி இளங்கோவடிகள் அவ்வாறு கூறுமல் சென்றுர் எனலாம். ஆனுல் அது பொருந்தவில்லை. ஏன் எனில், கோசிகனை அனுப்பிய பிறகு, கோவலன் செய்தது பெருஞ் செயல் ஒன்றும் அன்று. அங்கே இருந்த பாணர்களோடு சேர்ந்து இசை கேட்டும் பாடியும் பொழுது போக்கினுன். அந்தப் பொழுது போக்கினைவிடக் கடமை யுணர்ச்சியே சிறந்தது.

கோசிகன் திருமுகத்தைப் பெற்றுச் சென்ற பின்னரேனும், கோவலன் மாதவியின் துயரை நினைந்து, அவளுக்கு மறுமொழி விடுக்காத மறதியை நினைந்து வருந்தியதாகக் கூறியிருக்கலாம். மாதவி துயருற்றதாகக் கோசிகன் கூறிய கூற்றை அப்போதேனும் அவன் மனம் நினைந்திருக்கலாம்.

வசந்த மாலைவாய் மாதவி கேட்டுப்
பசந்த மேனியள் படர்நோ யுற்று
நெடுநிலை மாடத்து இடைநிலத்து ஆங்கோர்
படையமை சேக்கைப் பள்ளியுள் வீழ்ந்ததும்
வீழ்துயர் உற்றேள் விழுமம் கேட்டுத்
தாழ்துயர் எய்தித் தான்சென் றிருந்ததும்
இருந்துயர் உற்றேள் இணையடி தொழுதேன்
வருந்துயர் நீக்கென மலர்க்கையின் எழுதிக்
கண்மணி அனையாற்குக் காட்டுக என்றே
மண்ணுடை முடங்கல் மாதவி ஈத்ததும் (புறஞ்சேரி, 67-76)

என்று பத்து அடிகளால் மாதவியைப்பற்றிக் கோசிகன் கூறுவதாக அமைத்துள்ளார் ஆசிரியர். கோசிகனது பேச்சில் பாதிக்கு மேற்

பட்டதாக இப்பகுதியை அமைத்துள்ளார். பெற்ருேர் துயரம், சுற்றத்தார் துயரம், ஏவலாளர் தேடுதல், நகரத்து மக்களின் துயரம் ஆகிய எல்லாம் சேர்ந்து சிறுபாதியாய் நிற்க, மாதவியின் துயரமே பெரும் பாதியாய் நிற்கிறது. மாதவியின் துயரத்திற்கு இவ்வளவு இடந்தந்து காவியம் இயற்றும் ஆசிரியர், பிறகு திருமுகத்திற்கு மறுமொழி அனுப்பத் தவறியதுபற்றி நினைந்து கோவலன் வருந்தியதாகவும் கூருமல் செல்கிருர்; கோவலன் பாணர் கூட்டத்தில் சேர்ந்து பொழுது போக்குவதாக மட்டும் கூறுகிருர்.

கோவலனும் கண்ணகியுமே கதைக்கு இன்றியமையாதவர்கள், மாதவி அத்துணை இன்றியமையாதவள் அல்லள் என்று அமைதி கூற முயலலாம். ஆயின், மாதவியின் கலைச் சிறப்பையும் காதல் சிறப்பையும் போலவே அவளுடைய பிரிவாற்ருத் துயரத்தையும் ஆசிரியர் பெரிதுபடுத்திக் கூறியுள்ளமை நோக்கி, மாதவிக்காக அவர் தாமே பரிந்து பேசுவதையும் உணர்ந்தால், அந்தக் காரணம் பொருந்தாது போகிறது. கோவலன் கண்ணகி ஆகிய இருவர்க்கும் அடுத்த நிலையில் மாதவியே சிறப்பிடம் பெற்றவளாகக் காவியத்தில் விளங்கக் காண்கிருேம். ஆகவே, இந்தப் புறக்கணிப்பு, உணர்ந்து கற்பவரின் நெஞ்சைத் தொடுவதாக உள்ளது.

Indian Ivory for Solomon's Throne

P. JOSEPH

In Jewish history two contrary influences have apparently been ever at work. While their chosen leaders, from the patriarchs to the prophets, strove hard to keep them as a people apart, with hardly any ties with neighbouring nations, — to this is perhaps to be traced the later-day ghetto, — others, specially the kings, tried to cultivate the closest of relations with contemporary states. The latter influence reached its zenith under the best known of their monarchs, Solomon, who, as one writer has quite truly, if a trifle crudely, put it, added to his harem the daughters of such rulers as he might otherwise have had to fight. He surrounded himself with all the pomp and pageantry, characteristic of the pagan courts of Thebes, Nineveh and Babylon. He seems to have even entertained visions of turning the humble Hebrew kingdom into as big and mighty an empire as Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. To that end he embarked on an over-ambitious and ultimately ruinous construction programme that included his famous temple, palace, fortresses and walled cities.

As some of the building materials had to come from across the seas, he organised an impressive mercantile marine with the best technical aid that could then be had, namely, Phoenician. And thus came to be despatched a celebrated overseas expedition from the Red Sea port of Eziongeber, — modern Elath, — on the gulf of Akaba to Ophir very probably on the western shores of India. Of the merchandise reaching Solomon's court, *akil*-wood, monkeys, peacocks and ivory, the last was

certainly the most precious. These objects, it is essential to note, arrived in Judaea with their Indian names. An attempt at proving this contention with regard to the first three items was made in two previous studies.[1] The present one concerns itself with ivory.

That Indian ivory was known to western nations from at least the 5th century B.C. can be easily proved from the numerous references to the Indian elephant and ivory in the works of Greek and Roman classical writers.[2] Could the record be pushed back, the question arises, to king Solomon's days ?

The west from very high antiquity made lavish use of ivory. Egypt seemingly set the ball rolling. While ivory has been found in the remains of even such early dynasties as the 2nd, 3rd and 4th,[3] the inscriptions of the later ones bear out the fact that they used it profusely. The Ethiopians offered it to Sesostris, says Diodorus Siculus.[4] Thothmes III received from Ethiopia ivory loaded in ships. That the ancient Egyptians used it in decorating even their chariots is shown by the specimen preserved in the museum of Florence.[5] The Assyrians too used a good deal of this precious material. The scenes on monuments that depict the bringing of tribute by subject tribes to the Assyrian monarchs at Nineveh are full of representations of objects made of ivory. Layard, a pioneer in excavations at Nimrod, has

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1 Joseph, " *Algummim* " or " *Almuggim* " *of the Bible, Tamil Culture, VI*, 2, pp. 133-138 ; *Id., Romance of Two Tamil Words, Tamil Culture, VIII*, 3, pp. 201-207.

2 Cf. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great Id., Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature ; Id., Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian ; Vergil, Georgics ; Horace, Odes ; Ovid, Medicam. Fiac. Fragm.*

3 Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, pp. 58, 60, 76, 92.

4 Diodorus Sirculus, Bk. I., Ch. 55.

5 Vigouroux, *La Bible*, p. 364 ; Wilkinson, *A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, I, p. 376.

brought to light several statues, ornaments, palatial decorations and works of art, — all of ivory.[6]

That the western nations of yore had common knowledge of ivory is certain but whether the Indian variety entered their stock is not quite clear at first sight. Help has to be sought from the degree of proficiency attained by ancient peoples in the none too easy art of elephant-taming. Of all the countries of the world India has the distinction of having been the first to domesticate the elephant Only two countries have been associated in the past with the exportation of ivory, namely, Ethiopia and India. The Ethiopians, as has already been stated, supplied it to Egypt. Now, the pertinent question is whether the Ethiopian stock was largely made up of the Indian variety. The probabilities are all in favour of an Indian supply. Even as late as the 6th century A.D. Cosmas adduced the evidence that the Ethiopians did not tame the elephant systematically. He says that although "elephants are quite plentiful in Ethiopia," the Ethiopians "have not the art of taming" them, "but when the king happens to wish to have one or two for show, they catch young ones and put them under training."[7] This testimony carries great weight, since Cosmas travelled right through Ethiopia even down to the equator and spoke, hence, of what he knew very well. In this context, the amount of Indian ivory that must have entered into the Ethiopian supply to Egypt should, indeed, have been considerable.

True, ivory formed part of the export trade of the East African coastal cities in the time of the Periplus,[8] namely, the beginning of the Christian era. But the quantity exported could not have been appreciable. The

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6 Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 195, 358, 362; *Id.*, *Nineveh and its Remains*, I, pp. 29, 391; II, pp. 205, 420.

7 McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 165.

8 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 22, 23, 24, 26.

item appears rather important because it was one of the few things exported from the East African ports, the others being horns of the rhineceros, tortoise-shell and an inferior kind of frankincense. No wonder the African ivory supply was not considerable in those days, since the African forests were much thicker and much more unhealthy, because of swamps, than the Indian, so that elephant-hunting could hardly have been carried on there on a large scale. If such were the state of affairs in the days of the Periplus, ivory production in earlier times could only have been very meagre.

The Indian variety of ivory was more in demand in ancient empires than the Ethiopian for yet another reason, namely, its fineness. The closer we go to the equator, the better, they say, is the quality of ivory. This could not have been the reason for the preference of Indian ivory to Ethiopian, since the tropical forests of both the countries are bounded by about the same latitudes. The superiority of the Indian product was apparently due to certain unknown local peculiarities. Hence could Ovid say that Indian ivory was capable of being worked into delicate designs.[9]

At present, no doubt, Indian ivory export has shrunk a great deal and the equatorial African product is imported into India not only to augment the local supply but specially to satisfy the demand for finer quality. This, however, is no indication of what obtained in the past. The law of diminishing returns has obviously started operating in India with regard to ivory, as also other articles, that were once exports but have today turned imports, e.g. gold, diamond.

Etymology confirms the findings from elephant-taming in the remote past. Ivory was known as *ab*, *abu* in Egyptian, *shen-habbim* (elephants' teeth or tusks)

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[9] Ovid., *op. cit.*, V. 10.

in Hebrew, *eb*, *ebu* in Coptic, *ebur* in Etruscan and Latin, from which the English *ivory* comes, and *elephas*[10] in Greek, from which the English *elephant* is derived. The protagonists of a Sanscrit origin for these words have traced them to *ibha*, meaning elephant.[11] In regard to *elephas*, it must be noted, *ephas* is the word derived from *ibha*, *el* being a Greek prefix. Sanscrit enthusiasts have apparently overlooked the fact that the elephant was unknown to the Aryans until they came to India. They might have known ivory when they sojourned in Assyria and might have got the name *ibha* itself from the Assyrians. In case, however, they did not get it in Assyria, they surely did so in India, where they made their first acquaintance with the elephant. *A priori*, therefore, the word *ibha* was a late acquisition by Sanscrit.

The Rig Vedic Aryans knew the elephant by several names. The hymns have *hastinah*, *varana*, *mrigah*, *apasah*, *srynya* and *ibha*. *Hastinah* means that which has a *hasta* (hand or trunk). *Varana* comes from *varu* (oppose, hinder). *Mrigah* is a hunted animal, from *mrig* (to hunt). *Apasah* is a stately beast, from *apsas* (beauty). *Srynya* is a goaded animal, from *srni* (goad). All these words have in Sanscrit at least meanings, though secondary, but *ibha* has no proper etymological explanation at all. The derivation suggested, namely, *i* (an exclamation of surprise, wonder) + *bhan* (to say, speak) is not very convincing. The descriptive meanings of the words other than *ibha* suggest an animal with which the Aryans were not quite familiar. But the peculiar explanation of *ibha* confirms the utter strangeness of the creature that was given the name to those that gave it. The derivation, hence, of *ibha* has obviously to be looked for in a Dravidian tongue.

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10 Cf. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. elephant.

11 Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 233.

Although *ibam* in Tamil denotes the elephant, it does not seem in that form to be indigenous; it has apparently crept into the language after the Aryans came into the country. *Yane* or *ane* is the word commonly current. But *ibam* can easily be derived from *avu* which itself comes from *a*, a generic term for big animals. The word *a* is almost as old as man. Apart from the fact that it is monosyllabic, it denotes an emotional sound. Both these characteristics stamp the word as pertaining to the earliest stage in language-formation. Exclamation of wonder or surprise is expressed by the sound *a* or *a a* (a common doubling device). The latter soon becomes *ava*, the euphonic *v* bridging the none too easily negotiable gulf between two vowels. The largest animal early man hunted was the mammoth, an ancestor of the elephant, and when he first laid his eyes on it, he naturally exclaimed *a* in wonder or surprise at the huge size of the creature. That emotional sound has ever since stood for the big beast *par excellence*. The development of this word could be indicated thus: *a*, *a a*, *ava*, *avu*, *ane*. While *ane* is the usual word in modern parlance, *avu* should have been in vogue at the time of the Aryan entry into India. Incidentally, the derivation suggested in Sanscrit for *ibha*, it is interesting to note, does refer to an exclamation of surprise or wonder. The emotional sound, though, is supposed to be *i*, the natural noise emitted, while being surprised or awe-struck, is mostly *a* or o, sometimes *ai* or e but never *i*. The Aryans, it would appear, had known the way *avu* arose but, while coining their own derivative, *ibha*, had failed to realise that *i* could hardly designate surprise or wonder, obviously because the word was foreign to them.[12]

Etymology clarifies the issue of the derivation of the words for elephant and ivory in the western languages from an Indian, particularly Dravidian, root.

[12] This derivation might be inadmissible to most scholars — Ed.

This would show that ivory was exported from India to the west, for there is no sufficient reason for borrowing a word from a foreign land without taking the object itself for which the word stood.

Impressive as it is, all the foregoing evidence does not prove conclusively that the Jews received Indian ivory through Solomon's expedition; for they would have called, one would expect, any kind of ivory, even if it were got outside India, by a word originally derived from an Indian word. Nevertheless, the expression used by the sacred writer seems to put us at ease on that score. Of all places, where ivory is mentioned in the Bible, the product is given the name of *shen-habbim*,[13] meaning elephants' teeth (tusks) only in connection with the Ophir expedition. In all other passages it is referred to as *shen* (teeth) or *qarnot-shen* (horns of teeth).[14] Why the distinctive designation when speaking of the ivory brought in by Solomon's men? If it is just a coincidence, it is, indeed, a remarkable one. The sacred writer, it rather looks, wanted to differentiate between the ivory taken by the particular maritime expedition under reference and the previous imports. The same writer, it further seems, wished to pointedly signify that the ivory fetched by Solomon's mariners was got at a place not only other than those that supplied it till then, but also where it was known by a name from which the Hebrew *habbim* was derived.

A consideration that strengthens this suggestion is that in the same chapters of the Book of Kings and that of Chronicles,[15] that refer to the Ophir expedition, the same writer while mentioning the use to which Solomon put the great quantity of ivory received by him, namely, the building of a throne, employs the usual words, but

13 III, *Kings*, X, 22; *Par.*, IX, 21.
14 *Ps.*, XLIV, 9; XLV, 8; *Cant.*, V, 14; VII, 5; III *Kings*, X, 18, *Amos*, III, 15; VI, 4: *Ezechiel*, XXVII, 6, 15.
15 III *Kings*, X, 18; *Par.*, IX, 17.

not *shen-habbim*, to designate the product. This seems quite the natural thing to do, because the vast stock of ivory at Solomon's disposal was made up of not merely that directly obtained from India but also that from other places, say, Egypt and Tyre, which latter supplies, no doubt, included the Indian variety, — a fact of which the sacred writer was unaware. Incidentally, some scholars[16] have suggested a change in the reading of the relevant passage, because *shen-habbim* occurs only in this single instance. They have tried to substitute *shen-hobnim, shen* standing for teeth (ivory) and *hobnim* meaning ebony. But this change is quite arbitrary in view of the persistent traditional translation of *shen-habbim* as elephants' teeth, carried by the Greek and Latin versions of the Bible, i.e. the Septuagint and the Vulgate.

Dravidian India, it is clear, enjoyed a very hoary and consistent tradition of ivory export, stretching right back to almost the dawn of dynastic Egypt. That trade flourished as a virtual monopoly until a few centuries ago, when ivory from equatorial Africa made its appearance on the international market and ultimately succeeded in driving the Indian product out of the scene. Against this impressive backdrop one can view in proper perspective Jewish indebtedness to the Dravidians for not merely their ivory imports but even its very name.

While from the foregoing discussion as well as the two earlier studies the probability of Jewish commerce with the Dravidian country in the heyday of Hebrew kingship could be easily argued, archaeology alone can place the conclusion on anything like a firm footing. The literary tradition of the Tamils and relevant notices of classical writers have been admirably confirmed by the Arikkamedu excavations, which have carried the archaeological record of South India to the years just

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[16] Rodiger, *Thesaurus Linguae Hebreae*, p. 1454, *et addenda*, p. 115.

before and after the beginning of the Christian era. A little earlier are placed by conservative opinion the enigmatic dolmen builders. Going well further back we meet the Lothal Harappans, almost contemporaneous with Solomon. The settlements at Lothal and other places in Kathiawar-Gujerat upto the river Tapti are supposed to indicate the southward migration of the Harappa people after the Aryan conquest of Sind. Scholars ascribe a date of 1500-1400 B.C. to the Aryan inroad into India. Time must be allowed for the flood of invasion to swell and sweep down from the Punjab to Sind as well as for such of the vanquished as escaped destruction to get away and found new sites almost 500 miles off. The date, therefore, for Lothal would be, say, 1200 B.C., and the culture must have more than got over its teething troubles in the new locale by Solomon's time, viz., the 10th cen. B.C. An alternative view regarding Lothal is that it coexisted with Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. In that case there is no earthly reason why it should not have continued to exist upto the 10th cen. B.C. and even after. The Aryan blight, which initially found a *drang nach osten* from the Punjab extremely inviting, did not turn its attention to the south until sometime before the start of the Christian era; and when it actually did, it had lost much of its original virulence.

Most interesting was the discovery at Lothal of a well laid out, brick-built dockyard, complete with water-locks, spill-ways and loading platform. This is, indeed, incontrovertible evidence of the maritime activities of the Harappa folk, — a point repeatedly emphasised by Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. long before Lothal was even thought of as a profitable venture by the Archaeological Department. Another important point, — also previously stressed by Fr. Heras and clearly confirmed by recent excavations, — is the coastal orientation of the Indus civilisation. How far below the Tapti it had spread

further field-work alone will decide. But that it extended well south into peninsular India, not only along the western shores but even right inland, seems more than a mere surmise ; in this context the hitherto inexplicable stone industry of Raichur, with Harappan affinities, perhaps falls into place. In any case, with the question of the sea-faring nature of the Harappan way of life satisfactorily settled, the port of call of Solomon's sailors, — one may expect, — will yet be unearthed and the Biblical testimony to ancient Dravidian sea-borne trade adequately attested.

More about Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

1. The question of the "parts of speech" (word classes) belongs undoubtedly in any language to the most fundamental problems of its grammar. In Tamil, the existence of NOUNS and VERBS as separate classes of words is a matter accepted by all investigators of Dravidian structure. If we, however, analyse any Tamil material minutely enough to get at the ultimate, fundamental roots of the words, we find that even here the problem is not so simple. This is, however, no very special feature of Tamil or Dravidian. In most languages there are roots which may be denominated "noun and verb roots".

Before discussing this question further it seems to be pertinent to say a few words concerning the terms, roots and stems in Tamil.

2. ROOT MORPHEMES in Tamil are those smallest grammatically pertinent units which regularly occupy the first position in the structure of words, which usually have the main stress, are statistically much more frequent than non-root morphemes and are usually the principal carriers of meaning, e.g. *āḷ* ஆள் s. man, man of power, person etc., v. to use, handle, govern, reign; *ī* ஈ s. fly, bee, beetle; *viṭ* விட் v. to let, leave, separate etc.; *per-* பெர்- adj. big, great.

3. STEMS (or BASES) are roots plus any other non-root morphemes. Sometimes, roots are identical with stems, e.g. *āḷ* ஆள், *ī* ஈ. Usually they are formed from roots by DERIVATIONAL morphemes, e.g. verb

root *viṭ*-plus deriv. morph.-*u* > verb stem *viṭu* விடு. The same root plus another derivational morpheme, -*ar*, forms the stem *viṭar* விடர் s. fissure, cleft. The root *mar*- plus the derivational morpheme -*a*- forms the stem *mara*- மர- s. tree.

It seems that there are at least two layers of derivational suffixes, or, more precisely, two structural strata of derivation by suffixation, since most of the derivational suffixes form stems out of roots and out of stems already formed. The derivational suffix -*ai* may be quoted as example. It forms stems from primary roots, e.g. *vāḻ*- plus -*ai* > *vāḻai* வாழை s. plantain tree, *maḻ*- plus -*ai* > *maḻai* மழை s. rain ; at the same time, however, from stems already formed which are employed in paradigms, e.g. *ikuḷ* இகுள் s. female companion plus -*ai* > *ikuḷai* இகுளை s. id.

Another definition of stems in Tamil may be as follows : stems (or bases) are forms which may be employed in paradigms. They are free (e.g. *peṇ*, *vāḻai*) as well as bound (e.g. *mara*-).[1]

4. Let us return to the question of verb roots versus noun roots. It seems, as already indicated, that we have to distinguish between VERB ROOTS, NOUN ROOTS and NOUN AND VERB ROOTS, e.g. *āḷ* ஆள் s. man, warrior etc., v. to rule, control etc., *nāṭ*- நாட்- s. room, space, country, district etc., v. to seek, examine,

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[1] It is perhaps not out of place to mention the fact that in the process of derivation infixes are employed as well as suffixes (cf. the nasal infix forming a variant of root morphemes, e.g. roots *aṭ*- அட் v. approach, be near : *aṇṭ*- அண்ட்- v. approach, s. nearness, stems *aṭu* அடு *aṇṭu* அண்டு *aṇṭ-ai* அண்டை etc.; *or*- ஓர் stem *oru* ஒரு *oṉṟ*- ஒன்ற் stem *oṉṟu* ஒன்று Apart from affixation, other morphological processes play part in the derivation, e.g. internal change (cf. *miṉ* மின், : *mīṉ* மீன், *paṭ-u* படு : *pāṭ-u* பாடு *viṭ-u* விடு *vīṭ-u* வீடு) and zero-modification. (cf. *piṭ-i* v. hold, clutch : n. hold, clutch : n. she-elephant). It seems that most, if not all, primary roots in Tamil are mono-syllabic roots of the patterns V or $\bar{V}$, VC or $\bar{V}$C, most often, however, CVC or C$\bar{V}$C.

measure, reach, be measured. It looks as if roots of this type were more numerous than any other roots and may be that they indicate a more original and ancient state of affairs than the other roots. Instances of pronounced NOUN ROOTS may be also quoted, e.g. *il* இல் s. place, *viṉ* விண் s. sky, *nī* நீ p. pron. thou, as well as of pronounced VERB ROOTS, e.g. *pō* போ v. to go, *tōy* தோய் v. to reach, touch. This verbal or nominal character is then transferred to the stems, or else it is during the process of derivation that the roots acquire the character of either NOUN STEMS or VERB STEMS.

5. NOUN STEMS may be divided into SUBSTANTIVES (numerals in Dravidian are substantives carrying a specific meaning) and PRONOUNS. They belong to one and the same set of PARADIGM, characterized by a set of inflexional suffixes.

6. The term "stems" may be of course used also in somewhat different sense—for roots (and stems) plus INFLEXIONAL suffixes. These stems may be rather designated as INFLEXIONAL STEMS. Examples: oblique stems of some substantives as *nāṭṭu* நாட்டு ← *nāṭu* நாடு, *mara-ttu* மரத்து ← *mara-m* மரம், present, future and past stems of verbs, oblique stems of pronouns formed by internal change of the roots etc.[2] These inflexional stems are often bound as the temporal stems of verbs,) however, they may also be free (cf. *eṉ* என் of *yāṉ* யான் pron. I, *nāṭṭu* நாட்டு of *nāṭu* நாடு s. country).

7. Let us now try to carry out the segmentation of some concrete data. We shall obtain four structural

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[2] It is possible, that the ending *-m* — ம் with substantives of the type CVCV-m like *maram* மரம் s. tree should be regarded as an inflexional suffix, analogical to any other case-ending, i.e. as the nominative case ending; *maram* would thus be analysed as root *mar-* + derivational stem forming *-a-* plus nominative stem forming *-m* (cf. K. Tu. *mara,* Te. *mrā-nu,* Pa. *mar*).

strata : 1. the basic strata of primary roots, 2. the strata of stems, derived from roots by derivational suffixes eymployed in at least two layers, 3. the strata of inflexional stems, 4. the uppermost strata of inflected words.[3]

An example (*Akam* 8. 10) of segmentation :

paṭ-u kaṭ-u-ṅ kaḷ-i-ṟṟ-in varu-tt-a-ñ col-i-y-a

படு கடுங் களிற்றின் வருத்தஞ் சொலிய

"to remove the suffering of the big fierce elephant-male". Here, *paṭ-*, *kaṭ-*, *kaḷ-*, *var-* and *col-* are fundamental, primary roots ; *-u-* in *paṭu* and *kaṭuṅ*, *-i-* and *-u-* in *kaḷiṟṟiṉ* and *varuttañ* and *-i-* in *coliya* are formative derivational suffixes (some of them probably based purely on phonological patterns and rules) ; *-ṟṟ-* in *kaḷiṟṟiṉ* is a derivational suffix (*-ṟu-* று) which has been submitted to a morphophonemic process in the formation of the oblique stem, *-tt-* த்த் in *varuttañ* is another derivational suffix phonologically changed (cf. *-nt-* ந்த் in *varuntu* வருந்து) ; *-a-* அ in *varuttañ* is another derivational suffix ; *-ṅ-* ங் in *kaṭuṅ* may be the result of a phonological process of inserting homogenous nasal between the stem in *-u* and the following word beginning with a plosive and being the head of the attribute in an At-H construction (or it may be part of the inflexional suffix *-um* in its allomorphic form before *k-*) ; *iṉ-* இன் in *kaḷiṟṟiṉ* and *-a-* அ in *coliya* are inflexional suffixes ; also probably the *-m-* ம் in *varuttam* > *varuttañ* before *coliya*, a nominative-stem forming inflexional suffix ; *-y-* in *coliya* is a hiatus-filler ; whereas *paṭ-*, *kaṭ-*, *kaḷ.-*, *var-*, and *col-* பட்-, கட்-, கள்,- வர்-, சொல்-, are roots, *paṭu*, *kaṭu*, *kaḷiṟṟ-*, *varutta-* and *coli* படு, கடு, களிற்ற்-, வருத்த-, சொலி- are stems.

8. After this digression concerning segmentation and analysis into roots and stems, let us now return to

[3] The first structural strata may be called that of (primary) roots, the second that of bases (derived stems), the third that of stems (inflexional stems), to avoid terminological difficulties.

our original problem of the existence of adverbs and adjectives as separate classes of words in Tamil.

In an article in *Tamil Culture* (VIII. 1, 1959) I tried to show that we have to distinguish between adverbs and adverbials (e.g. *iṉi* இனி, *iṅku* இங்கு vs. *nāḷaikku,* நாளைக்கு, *inta mātiri* இந்த மாதிரி, *anta vaḻiyē* (அந்த வழியே) just as between adjectives and adjectivals (e.g. *peru* பெரு, *ciṟu* சிறு vs. *ciṟanta* in *ciṟanta kaviñar* சிறந்த கவிஞர், *poṉ* பொன் in *poṉṉakaram* பொன்னகரம்). I also tried to show that according to my view, we have to set up a separate part of speech, ADVERBS, in Tamil, as far as the semantic criterion (of the lexical meaning), is concerned. This criterion alone is, of course highly inadequate and may be misleading. It is true that most adverbs quoted by me (as *iṅku* இங்கு, *aṅku* அங்கு, *eṅku* எங்கு, *iṉi* இனி, *naṉi* நனி, cannot be further analysed into minimum free forms ; they can be, however, analysed into morphemes, e.g. *iṅku, aṅku, eṅku* may be perhaps segmented into preclitic deictic and interrogative vowels *i-* இ-, *a-* அ- and *e-* எ- plus dative morpheme *-ku* -கு nasalized by the infix *-ṅ* -ங். [4]

As far as the formal criterion is concerned, it is hardly possible to find, in Tamil, any primary adverb roots (if we adopt the division between roots and stems —i.e. bases). Most of the "adverbs" may be analysed into root-morphemes plus formative derivational suffixes, e.g. *naṉ-i, i-ṉ-i, i-ṉṉ-um, piṟ-a-ku.* Thus it seems that in Tamil adverbs exist as stems, i.e. primary roots

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[4] This infixation of a nasal is current with many formative derivational morphemes, cf. *-n-t-u* > -ntu ந்து in *var-u-ntu* வருந்து, *m-p-u -mpu* -ம்பு in *tir-u-mpu* திரும்பு. As far as the type *aṅku* ~ *āṅku* is concerned, it must be admitted that the segmentation into *a-ṅ-ku* is uncertain. The formative morpheme *-ṅk-* is very frequent, and the form *aṅkai* அங்கை there suggests the possibility of another segmentation, viz. *a-ṅk-ai, a-ṅk-u.*

plus derivational or inflexional morphemes. As far as the grammatical criterion is further concerned, adverb-stems cannot be joined by any inflexional morphemes (as case-endings or personal suffixes) like nouns and verbs. Syntactically, adverb-stems cannot be subjects or direct objects etc. Their behaviour in morphology and syntax proves thus that ADVERB-STEMS are a special class of words in Tamil.

9. The conception that Dravidian adjectives and substantives are one identical class of words seems to be, at least to me, basically incorrect. Neither historically nor from the point of synchronic descriptive linguistics, ADJECTIVES may be qualified as substantives in Tamil. Tamil adjectives are not even nouns. Whereas at all levels of the Tamil speech, synchronically as well as diachronically, from the earliest documents of the language to this day, NOUNS (*peyar* பெயர்) i.e. substantives and personal pronouns, are inflected for CASE, the adjectives (*uriccol* உரிச்சொல்) are not and cannot be inflected for case. During the analysis of words into primary root morphemes and derivational suffixes it is possible to discover a number of primary ROOTS, which may become substantives only with the help of derivational morphemes generally on the second, outer layer (cf. *per-u-mai* பெருமை s. greatness), and which, on the other hand, behave in the syntax of the languages as qualifiers in their very root-forms or in the forms of the stems (cf. *nal tamil* > *narramil* நற்றமிழ், good Tamil, *per-u nāḷ* > *perunāḷ,* பெருநாள், great day, festival, *cil* ~ *ciṟ il* > *ciṟṟil,* சிற்றில் small house, hut). The ADJECTIVE ROOTS (*per-, nal-, cil-,* etc.) and stems (*peru* பெரு, *ciṟu* சிறு) cannot be under any condition combined with case-endings, like substantives or personal pronouns. The conception that the adjectives as *ciṟ-u* சிறு, *per-u* பெரு etc. are "derived" from abstract nouns as *ciṟumai* சிறுமை, *perumai* பெருமை etc. is utterly false and contrary to general trends in the

development of language as well as to all our information about the structure of Tamil. As far as the formal criterion is concerned, the adjectives stand between nouns and verbs, and adjective ROOTS may be defined as morphemes which sometimes in their root form, more often after taking derivational suffixes or after internal change of their root vowels are syntactically in attributive construction with a noun which they precede and qualify.

10. The criterion of lexical meaning to establish adjectives as a separate class of words is of course not very reliable. In spite of this one may say, even if somewhat vaguely, that adjective roots convey mostly the meaning of a (one) principal quality, e.g., small, great, red, good, new. As far as the morphological characteristic is concerned, it is best to express it negatively and define adjectives as "words which cannot be inflected for case", but may be, nevertheless, inflected for person, number and gender by means of suffixes of pronominal origin, cf. *nallēm* நல்லேம் : *nallōr* நல்லோர் : *nallavaṉ* நல்லவன் ; *nallavaḷ* நல்லவள்.[5] Thus it is clear that they cannot be regarded as nouns.

As far as their syntactic function is concerned, they are found, as already stated, in attributive construction, preceding the noun which they qualify, and not agreeing with that noun in gender or number.[6]

11. Concluding I shall try to suggest a classification of roots and stems which, according to my conviction, is acceptable for Tamil on the synchronic as well as on the diachronic plane.

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5. It is this feature of adjectives—the possibility to inflect them with the help of pronominal suffixes—which makes them similar, formally, to verbs; they cannot of course be regarded as verbs since they cannot be inflected for tense and gender (*genus verbi*).

6 Cf: M. B. Emeneau, Kolami, p. 31.

ROOTS : 1. Noun roots : a. Substantives, e.g. *peṇ* பெண் woman, *poṉ* பொன் gold, *il* இல் place. *ai-* ஐ in *ai-nt-u* ஐந்து five, *kal* கல் stone, *pal* பல் tooth, *ā* ஆ ox, cow, *mar-* மர் - in *mar-a-m* மரம் tree ;

2. Adjective roots, e.g. *per-* பெர் big, great, *put-* புத் new, *cil-* சில் small, little, *kar-* கர் black ;[7]

3. Verb roots, e.g. *pō* போ go, *pār* பார் see, *ir-* இர் sit, be ;

4. Noun and verb roots, e.g. *āḷ* ஆள் n. man, warrior etc. ; v. to reign, govern etc. ; *kaṇ* ~ *kāṇ* கண் ~ காண் n. eye, v. see ; *koḷ* ~ *kōḷ* கொள் ~ கோள் to size, grasp, take, n. taking, opinion, tenet etc.[8]

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[7] Many of the adjective root morphemes are found in two or more phonologically conditioned allomorphs, e.g. *per-* ~ *pēr-* big great, *kar-* ~ *kār-* black, *ciṟ-* ~ *cil-* ~ *cin-* and *ciṟṟ-* etc. This phonological conditioning is rooted in the syntactic position of adjective roots as qualifiers preceding the nouns they qualify, as the final consonant of adjective roots is combined with the initial consonant or vowel of the qualified noun and phonological rules (e.g. *-l* of *nal* plus *t-* of *tamil* > *narramiḻ*, *per-u* plus *iṉpam* > *pēriṉpam* etc.) of assimilation, compensatory lengthening etc. operate.

[8] Such cases as *kāṇ* ~ *kāṇ* may be considered either as two allomorphs of a single basis morpheme (*kaṇ*), or we may take one of the allomorphs as the root morpheme and the other as a derived stem, e.g. *kāṇ* may be a derived verb from the root *kaṇ* by internal change *a* > *ā*, or by replacive length (*a* ← *ā*). There is a number of such roots, e.g. *kiḷ* ~ *kīl*. The ultimate decision how to describe and explain such cases will rest upon the analysis and description of the whole system of morphology as well as upon the results of historic investigation.

5. Clitis : (*a*) proclitics, as *i*- இ- in *iṉṟu*, இன்று, *a*- அ- in *aṅku*, அங்கு, *avaṉ*, அவன், *appaṭi* அப்படி, *e*- எ in *enta*, *eppaṭi* எந்த, எப்படி;

(*b*) encliltics, as the interrog and emph. vowels -*ā* ஆ, -*ē* ஏ *ō*- ஓ, and the conjunctive -*um*[9] உம்.

STEMS (or, if we want, bases, i.e. root morphemes plus derivational morphemes) :

1. Noun stems : (*a*) Substantives, e.g. *peṇ* பெண் woman, *poṉ* பொன் gold, *makan*[10] மகன் son, *maram* மரம் tree, *mūṉṟu* மூன்று three, *aintu* ஐந்து five;

(*b*) Pronouns, e.g. *nāṉ* நான் I, *nī* நீ thou, *nīr*[11] நீர் you, *avaṉ* அவன் that man, he;

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[9] Clitics in Tamil may be defined as morphemes unrelated to any independent words, never occurring in isolation, intermediate between words and affixes, semifree and semibound at the same time : e.g. the deictic vowels *i*- and *a*-, the enclitics -*ā* and -*um*.

[10] Should *makaṉ* மகன் be segmented as *mak*-*aṉ* or as *mak*-*a*-*ṉ* or as *maka*-*ṉ* ? I would rather prefer the segmentation in *mak*-*aṉ*; *mak*—is the root and the stem ; cf. the pl. *mak*-*kaḷ*, and such items as K. *mag*-*am* and *mak*-*kaḷ*, T. *mag*-*aṉ*-*ḍu* etc. *maram* should perhaps be segmented as *mar*-*a*-*m* ; *mar*- being the root, *mar*-*a*— the stem and -*m* the nominative-case ending (an inflexional suffix).

[11] *nīr* should be obviously segmented as *ni* -*r*, *avaṉ* as *a*-*v*-*aṉ* or *av*-*aṉ* (cf. *av*-*ai*). Is -*r* in *nīr* a formative derivational suffix, or is the pronominal root *nī* inflected for number and is then -*r* to be regarded as an inflexional morpheme of the plural ? The second alternative seems the better one, cf. the plural suffix -*ir* in *mak*-*aḷ*-*ir* ; -*r* in *nī*-*r* is an allomorph of pl. suffix -*ir*, since, historically, *nīr* நீர் > *nī*-*y*-*ir* நீயிர். Should -*aṉ* in *avaṉ* be regarded as a derivational suffix, forming a demonstrative pronoun form the deictic proclitic *a*-, or is *īr* an inflexional morpheme of number and gender ?

2. Adjective stems, as *peru* பெரு, *ciṟu* சிறு, *putu* புது ;

3. Verb stems, as *pō* போ, *pār* பார், *viṭu* விடு, *iru* இரு ;

4. Noun and verb stems, e.g. *payil* பயில் n. practice, exercise ; v. to practice ; *tirai* திரை n. wave, wrinkle ; v. to roll, wrinkle ; *taḷai* தழை n. leaf, foliage, v. to sprout, thrive etc. ;

5. Adverbs, e.g. *iṉi* இனி now, *aṅku* அங்கு there, perhaps particles, derived from noun roots (?)

As far as the INFLEXIONAL SUFFIXES in Tamil are concerned, we have to distinguish between two sets of suffixes of inflexion: those, constituting the NOUN-PARADIGM (substantives and pronouns) and those, constituting the VERB-PARADIGM. Adjectives and adverbs have no paradigm of their own. As already stated, the adjective stems are combined with the suffixes of verb-paradigm, which are of pronominal origin.

Dravidian Words in Sanskrit[1]

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

0.0. The realization that Sanskrit has borrowed from indigenous languages of India, like Dravidian and Munda, dawned on Indo-European Scholars very late. This late realization is due to an assumption usually but not always made, only implicitly and seldom argued or supported by evidence, that the Sanskrit invaders of North West India were people of high or better culture, who found in India only culturally feeble barbarians and consequently the borrowing that patently took place was from Sanskrit and not *vice versa.* The spectacular archaeological discoveries of the Indus Valley which have totally disproved the assumption, were not available to them. Paul Tedesco, for example, inspite of his excellent work in Middle Indo-Aryan had also operated on the above stated assumption (Archaeological Orientalia in memorium to Ernst Herzfeld). This invariably led them to find Indo-European etymologies for the greatest possible portion of the vocabularies of Indo-European languages even though this objective could be achieved by flights of phonological and semantic fancy. To add to this, there was the woeful neglect of and indifference to the Dravidian languages on the part of Indo-European scholars. As a result of this, there was a general caution among Indo-European Scholars when confronted with a substratum situation. The continuance of this trend and the consequent neglect of the

1 This paper was presented in the Comparative Linguistic Seminar conducted by Harry. V. Velten at Indiana in 1957. I am indebted to Fred W. Householder for certain suggestions.

findings of the Dravidianists who, no doubt, were few but able are noticeable even in the attempts of etymologists like Walde and Pokorny (1920-22).

0.1. As early as 1849, T. Hodgson published in the Bengal Asiatic Society Journal an article in which he pointed out that the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Sindhi, Hindi, Bengali etc. from Sanskrit has been affected by their contact with the non-Aryan languages. Even before this, Sir Jones guessed the influence of Tartaric or Scythian languages on the North Indian dialects. Dr. Stevenson proved with some evidence that the influence to which Jones referred is nothing but Dravidian in his article in the Bombay Asiatic Society Journal. Beames in his Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India (1872) concluded that at least some Dravidian features could certainly be found in the North Indian languages. Like him, Ernest Trumpp also felt the presence of some features of a language of Tartaric group in Sindhi (Grammar of the Sindhi Language, 1872). But Gundert who worked in Malayalam argued successfully that even in Sanskrit many features of Dravidian could be found (Journal of the German Oriental Society, 1869). In his Malayalam Dictionary he also gave a number of Sanskrit words which he considered as borrowings from Dravidian. Fr. Kittel the author of a Kannada Grammar and Dictionary gave more than 400 Sanskrit words which he considered as of Dravidian origin. Bishop Caldwell, the author of the Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages summarised the Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit in one sentence: 'There are as many Dravidian words in Sanskrit as there are Anglo-Saxon words in English'. The author of the Linguistic Survey of India (Fourth Volume), Sten Konow also enumerated the kind and number of borrowings in Sanskrit. The above mentioned scholars, no doubt, saw the truth, but did not take pains to establish an acceptable

method for recognizing probable, possible and unlikely loan words. Therefore, their results were not seriously taken into consideration.

0.3. More recent works by Jules Bloch tried to salvage some items from the early attempts and in the 40's, T. Burrow in an important series of articles attempted to set up methodological principles and suggested Dravidian sources for some five hundred Sanskrit words. The Sanskrit Etymological Dictionary that Manfred Mayrhofer projected for publication in Germany in 1958 takes into account this recent work of Burrow. Emeneau of U.S.A. and Burrow are now engaged in publishing an Etymological Dictionary of Dravidian languages, which it is hoped will help to determine some more Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit.

1.0. The Emeneau - Burrow procedure has seven steps for identifying the probable loan words which deserve our serious attention. (1) The Sanskrit words should have no certain or obvious Indo-European etymology. (2) There should be wide currency of the etymon in the Dravidian languages and it should be a basic element in the vocabulary. If the word denotes something peculiar to the Indian geographical or social scene, a Dravidian origin is more probable than an Indo-European one. (3) A word is shown to be of Dravidian origin if it is clearly to be derived from some Dravidian root. (4) The word should be of some antiquity in Dravidian *i.e.* it should occur in the earliest Tamil texts. (5) Comparative lateness of appearance of the word only in or first in Sanskrit vocabulary increases the possibility of its being a borrowal. (6) In each case *possible phonetic criteria should be looked for. (7) Likewise Semantic developments can sometimes be taken as a criterion.*

1.1. Not all these criteria can be brought to bear on all cases. Comparative *simplicity and avoidance of*

tortuous phonological and semantic derivations should also be aimed at, following the general practice of all disciplines.

2.0. These steps lead Emeneau and Burrow to state that the influence of Dravidian languages on Sanskrit in the level of phonology is the development of a new series of occlusives, an unique characteristic of Sanskrit in the Indo-European family. Therefore, they rule out the suggestion by Bloch and others that it is a reflex of Indo-European consonant clusters of certain types. The later one goes into the history of Sanskrit, the greater is the number of occurrence of the occulsives in Sanskrit, and the indigenous languages have plenty of them. So it should be a borrowing from the indigenous languages.

2.0 On the syntactic level the use of the conjunctive participle *is also due to non-Aryan influence.* Dravidian has plenty of such usages.

2.0. It is in the province of vocabulary that the influence of Dravidian is the greatest. The majority of these items are post-Vedic. The most important fact worthy of notice here is that according to Burrow twenty Dravidian words are found in the Rig Veda. This finding has great cultural implications.

3.0. Before entering into a discussion of a few important loan words, a few words should be said about an important group of non-Aryan languages called Munda. One can reasonably infer some borrowing by Sanskrit from them, because of their geographical proximity. But, so far, studies in Munda are in their infancy. There is also very little evidence to guess at their early stages, so that no well-based hypothesis can be framed. Dravidian languages have literary records which can be

dated back to pre-Christian Era. Therefore in all likelihood, the non-Aryan elements can safely be said to be of Dravidian in origin, in the present state of our knowledge.

4.0. Dravidian languages fall into two groups: (1) Literary and (2) non-Literary. In the former group fall Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese. The latter group is divided into three sets: (1) Southern—Tulu, Coorg, Toda, Kota, (2) Central (a) Kolami-Naiki, (b) Parji, Ollari, Poya, (c) Gondi-Konda, (d) Kui-Kuvi. (3) Northern — Kurukh., Malto, Brahuii.

5.0. Let us now look into five loan words from the Rig Veda.

5.1. *Skt.* 'ketaka-ketakī=fragrant screw pine.' *Ta. Mal.* 'kaital, kaitai, kaita,' *Tul.* 'kēdai, kēdayi, kēdāyi.' *Tel.* 'gēdāgi.' The dipthong 'ai' in Tamil and Mal. words is an indication that the word is Dravidian in origin. So also the suffix 'ai' in Tam. Mal. and Tul.

5.2. *Skt.* 'elā=cardamom.' *Tam. Mal.* 'ēlam ēlavarici, ēlattari.' *Kan.* 'ēl-akki,' *Kod.* 'e-l-akki,' *Tul.* 'ēl-akki,' *Tel.* 'ēla, ēlaki.'

5.3. *Skt.* 'palli=lizard,' *Tam.* 'palli,' *Mal.* 'palli,' *Kot.* 'e-paj.' *Tod.* 'pasy'; *Kan.* 'palli'; *Tul.* 'palli', *Tel.* 'palli, balli'; *Kod.* 'palli'.

5.4. *Skt.* 'puttika=the white ant or termite'; *Tam.* 'puRRu, puRRam', *Māl.* 'puRRu', *Kan.* 'puttu, putta'; *Kod.* 'puttiid'; *Tul.* 'puncaid'; *Tel.* 'puṭṭa'; *Kol.* 'puṭṭa'; *Naiki*—'puṭṭaid'; *Parji*—'putkal'; *Ollari*—'putkal'; *Gondi*—'puttiid'; *Kui.* 'pisiid'; *Kuwi.* 'pūci; pūnja'; *Kur.* 'puttā'; *Mal.* 'pute'.

5.5. *Skt.* 'nala=personal name'; *Tam.* 'nal. naR, nalla'; *Mal.* 'nal; *Kol.* 'nalvayn'; *Tod.* 'nas, nase;

Kan. ‘nal’; *Kod.* ‘nallë’; *Tul.* ‘nalu’; *Tel.* ‘nalavu’; *Gondi.* ‘nelā’.

For the etymology of the remaining words the readers may refer to Burrow’s book “The Sanskrit Language”, pp. 378 and “Linguistic Pre-history of India” by Emeneau, published in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society Vol. 98, No. 4, ’54.

6.0. I cannot close this paper without referring the readers to a recent and interesting review of Burrow’s above noted book by Paul Thieme published in *Language,* Vol. 31, P. 438. Thieme with unshaken faith in the purity of Sanskrit Language has given expression to some of his ideas in the form of a refutation to Burrow’s statements. He says, “There are no documents in Dravidian which can be dated back to the pre-Christian Era.” This statement does not take into consideration the recent findings in Epigraphy in Tamil and the author depends on the opinions about the date of Tamil literature of certain Western Scholars who had no first hand information about Tamil. The Arikkamedu inscriptions in Tamil are dated by Epigraphists to the pre-Christian Era. On the same type of evidence as is used to date the Rig Veda, Ancient Tamil literature can also be dated to this ancient period.

6.1. Thieme states “We have not even evidence for speech contact with Dravidian speakers in olden times. This can of course be inferred from the loan words themselves. But loan words themselves are possible only after the contact. So it is circular.” Thieme assumes here that every thing that has happened in the past in India is recorded in early Sanskrit. The Hellenic conquest of India is a known and proved fact. Thieme can never find one direct reference to this contact in the whole of Sanskrit literary tradition. Are

we to doubt this conquest ? Rig Veda refers to Dasyus and Demons as the enemies of Aryans. If they are the non-Aryan tribes, will not that be a sufficient proof that Aryans had contact with non-Aryans ?

6.3. Thieme says that " Dravidian languages bristle with Sanskrit loan words and Dravidian literature came into existence under the influence of Sanskrit." Both the statements are far from the truth. Sanskrit loan words do not constitute even 10% of the vocabulary of ancient Tamil. To quote Emeneau. " Only literary criticism and grammatical treatises were influenced by Sanskrit ". It is a well known fact that both these branches of literature except Tolkāppiyam came into existence in Tamil later than the secular poetic compositions collected under the name, Sangam poetry.

6.4. Thieme states that, ' Wherever there is a correspondence in the vocabularies of Sanskrit and Dravidian, there is a presumption to be removed only by specific arguments that Sanskrit has been the lender, Dravidian the borrower.' Why it should be so, Thieme did not care to explain. Probably, he is still sharing the view that the Dravidians were less civilized than the Aryans and therefore the borrowing should be from the more cultured by the less cultured. The Mohanjodaro Civilization and its identification as non-Aryan and then as Dravidian, disprove, Thieme's supposition. This argument of his reflects the 19th century notion pointed out in the beginning of this paper and effectively refuted by Emeneau.

6.4.1. Thieme's observation that Mohanjodaro civilization is not Dravidian needs more proof than a mere repetition of the unfounded scepticism voiced by armchair theoreticians. Those who have really worked at the sites have without doubt identified it with the Dravidian Civilization, because of the presence of Bra-

huii speakers in and around the sites which cannot be a mere accident.

6.5. 'Loan words' Thieme says, 'have been shunned by early Sanskrit Grammarians'. So there is 'very little likelihood of making use of these loan words by literary writers'. Actually, those which Thieme points out are obvious loan words. Subtle loan words have been accepted and adopted even by the early Grammarians like Katyayna. Aryans have the singular capacity to adapt and absorb into their system, whatever is good in others whether they are friends or foes. This is a cultural feature in existence even now. Their ancient literature and grammar reflect this trait. The most effective way for disproving Burrow would be to discuss the short-comings of the seven methodological steps formulated by Emeneau and Burrow. But this has been silently passed over by Thieme for obvious reasons.

7.0. Regarding the alternate derivations all except one are fanciful Thieme says 'ulukhal = mortar' is taken from the language of women. Except for its use by women and a clear determination on the part of Thieme to say somehow that that word is not of Dravidian origin, there is no evidence shown by him for such a statement. He has no parallels to strengthen his argument.

7.1 'Khala=thrashing' floor is derived by Thieme from 'akhara = hole'. Neither the significance of the prefix 'a' nor how it has been dropped in 'khala' is explained by him. We are not in the days of Voltaire.

7.2 'Mayil = peacock' if Dravidian, then Thieme says that "that language should have an early form 'mayura' or the like to explain the Sanskrit form." Another objection raised by him is the absence of a suffix 'ura' in Tamil, First, he has wrongly assumed that the ety-

mon should have a close phonological resemblance with the original form. This need not be and the instances to support my stand are too well known in languages to be mentioned here. The second mistake Thieme has committed is in considering 'ura' as a suffix in Tamil. The borrowed word might have been in its original form a compound, 'mayil—uur'—peacock village. The village in which the peacock was seen would have been the base for 'mayura'. Further, the home of this bird is said to be India and Thieme is bound to explain this factor also when he refutes Burrow's derivation.

7.3. 'Mukta=pearl' is also refuted by Thieme on two grounds : (1) Prakrit has no form like 'mukka' to correspond to Sanskrit 'mukta'. (2) The meaning 'loosened one' is hardly a denomination that would bring out a characteristic feature of the pearl or its origin. To some extent, Burrow is the cause of this misunderstanding. 'Muttu' in Tamil means 'to ripen' the ripening of water particle. The other prakrit form 'muttu' fits well with this Tamil form.

7.4. Thieme's derivation of '*Sava*' from '*Sa*' meaning swelling on the basis of a statement of the novelist Ernest Hemingway is entertaining. '*Sa*' when it takes past tense in Tamil is '*settan*' but when it takes the future it is '*saavaan*' and not '*sappaan*' as the other verbs in Tamil which take—tt—for past do. On the basis of this pattern deviation, '*saa*' can be considered as a borrowing in Dravidian rather than the other way round.[2]

7.5. On the other hand, without any reservation I would accept his derivation of 'bala' from Indo-European root 'bal'. This is in congruence with the absence of voiced plosives in ancient Tamil. But the next word,

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2 See my review of M. Raghava Iyengar's 'Vinaittiripu Vilakkam' in *The Hindu*, November 30, 1958.

'vala=to encircle', of Rig Veda is clearly of Dravidian origin. 'Valai,' the encirclement to catch fish, 'valai=to encircle' and a hord of derivatives in Tamil substantiate this statement. Thanks to Thieme, though missed by Emeneau and Burrow, another Dravidian loan word in Vedic Sanskrit has been brought to light, which though in appearance a homophonous form with 'vala=strong' is an entirely different word, root of which is 'val' or 'val=to encircle'.

A General Evaluation of the Tamil Poet Krishna Pillai

(1827 — 1900)

P. JOTIMUTTU.

Tamil Literature is a coat of many colours, into which have been woven, Jain, Buddhistic, Saivite, Vaishnavite, Islamic and Christian strands. Among the Christian Tamil poets Krishna Pillai stands foremost. He was shaped to that stature by his environment. His father, Sankaranarayana Pillai, was a learned man. "He made it a rule in later years not to take his midday meal without reading a portion of the great Tamil classic, Kamban's *Ramayanam*. His practice was to read aloud a few stanzas and to explain their meaning to those who came to listen. His wife Deivanayaghi Ammal, being a very intelligent woman, committed to memory the stories, poems and proverbs she heard when her husband expounded the text of Kamban's work..... Her knowledge of proverbs was such that after Krishna Pillai became a great Tamil scholar, he asked his mother many a time for an appropriate proverb and she readily helped him." (*Life of Poet H. A. Krishna Pillai,* by Sir David Devadoss, pp. 7-8). "Krishnan went to a school kept by a village schoolmaster and was diligent and studious.... Krishnan being a very intelligent boy soon acquired an excellent knowledge of the Tamil language, and was able by his twelfth year to read aloud Kamban's *Ramayanam* to his father before his midday meal." (pp. 9-10). Krishnan and his younger brother Muthaiyan "had the good fortune to live near the house of a rich man who had collected a large library of Tamil classics and literature.... Both of them read the Tamil

classics and all the philosophical and didactic works they could lay their hands on." (pp. 15-16). His work at Sawyerpuram as a munshi brought him acquainted with a missionary, Huckstable by name, and with the Bible. His life at Palayamkottai as a Pundit in the college there enabled him to read more books on Christianity, especially the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan, translated into Tamil, through the persuasion of a friend of his, Dhanakoti Raju, a convert from Hinduism. His work as a Tamil Pundit in the Presidency College, Madras, brought him into contact with Dr. Percival. Later he took up work in the first-grade college at Trivandrum as the head Tamil Pundit where he got acquainted with Sundaram Pillai, the author of *Manonmaniyam.* All these experiences contributed to making a great poet of Krishna Pillai.

He was "a most erudite scholar without the pedantry associated with Tamil Pundits." (p. 65). When he was at Palayamkottai, Tamil pundits went to him for help. Afer his conversion to Christianity he expounded the truths of his new religion to his students. The evenings were spent in conversing about and explaining the truths of Christianity.

Krishna Pillai "longed to do something which would show his great love for his Master and at the same time reach a wider public." (p. 76). *Rakshaniyanavanecthham* was his first poetical work of one hundred stanzas. This "is an epitome of the Christian teaching of the way of salvation.... Its beautiful language and flowing diction are above praise." (p. 77). Both Hindus and Christians including the Poet Vedanayagam Pillai of Mayavaram read and admired it.

His *magnum opus* is *Rakshaniya Yatthiriham.* This is based on the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress.* "But the poet's treatment of the theme is quite original. It bore the same relation to the *Pilgrim's Progress* as the plays of Shakespeare did to Plutarch's *Lives.*" The

great epic poets that have gone before him, viz. Thiru-thakka-thevar, Sekkilar and Kambar have left their footprints behind them for Krishna Pillai to follow. This is a major epic poem divided into five cantos and forty-seven subdivisions, consisting of three thousand six hundred and twenty-two stanzas, in which his earlier work is incorporated. The head Tamil pundit of the Presidency College of Madras of those days "praised the work as fulfilling all the canons of a Tamil epic poem and greatly admired the flowing language and the apt and beautiful similes." (p. 80).

The Reverend T. Walker, to whom Krishna Pillai read the entire work, has paid the following glowing tribute to its uniqueness in his Preface: "While our author has followed, wherever possible, the accepted laws relating to Tamil poems, it will readily be seen that certain points of difference present themselves, arising, for the most part, from the grand requirements of the Gospel."

No student of Tamil literature will fail to note that Krishna Pillai has drunk deep of Sangam literature, of Tiruvalluvar, Kambar, Jayangondar, Sekkilar, Aruna-giri and Tayumanavar and the Saivite and Vaishnavite hymnists. Since he has followed Kambar more, as one would naturally expect of him, he is rightly called "Christian Kambar."

Rakshaniya Yatthiriham bears ample testimony to the versatility of the poet. He has used in it several metres of *viruttham* according to the nature of the subject he is dealing with. At times he indulges in rhetorical flourishes, too. His delineation of Judas Iscariot and Pilate is remarkable. According to the tendency of the times he has indulged very much in the use of Sanskrit words. He is an inspired poet. Writing to a friend about his changed life, he says, "That very night God opened my heart and my tongue to praise Him." Sundaram Pillai, the author of *Manonmaniyam*,

was very much struck by the facility and the spontaneous flow of his words and thoughts, and remarked, "I labour so hard to produce a few lines of poetry in Tamil, and you go on composing stanza after stanza as if you were writing them down from memory!" (p. 79).

Rakshaniya Manoharam is another poetic work of his, that has come down to us. It is a small devotional book of the type of the Saivite and Vaishnavite hymns. One hears very often in it echoes of the sentiments expressed by his Hindu predecessors. It contains thirty-two sections. Selections from *Yatthiriham* have been incorporated in it. This work deserves better use among Christians, both in their private and public devotions.

Rakshaniya Kural is another poetic work, which he is said to have composed; but unfortunately no copy of it is available now with anyone. It is claimed that in this work Krishna Pillai undertook to expound the truths of Christianity following the example of Tiruvalluvar in expounding the truths of the ideals of life, namely, "Aram, porul, inbam, and veedu" in his *Tirukural.*

In Krishna Pillai we have not only a poet but also a theologian. He used not only poetry but also prose to expound the truths of Christianity. *Rakshaniya Samaya Nirnayam* is his prose composition. It corresponds to *Siva-gnana-sitthiyar* in Tamil. He examines therein the relative merits of other religions and seeks to establish Christianity as the religion of salvation. He has appended in his *Yatthiriham* a decade on this *Rakshaniya Samaya Nirnayam.*

"Sat-Chit-Ananda" is a phrase of which Krishna Pillai was very fond and used quite often in his works. He deserves a wider reading and an unbiased appreciation both by Christians and non-Christians who are acquainted with Tamil. He has won a prominent place in the literary history of Tamil.

Description of the Kandy Perahara

S J. GUNASEGARAM

A faithful and fascinating description of the *Kandy Perahera,* as conducted in the Hill Capital during Knox's time, in about the year 1680, is found on pages 125 to 127 of Knox's *"Historical Relation of Ceylon"* (Glasgow Edition, MCMXI).

According to Knox, there were two annual solemn festivals held in the Kandyan Districts — the one in honour of the "Gods that govern the Earth and all things referring to this life", and the other "belonging to Buddou whose Province is to take care of the soul and future well-being of men".

Knox classes the Perahera under the festivals of 'the former sort' that is to honour the "Gods and procure their aid and assistance". In Knox's time the Perahera appears to have been held "early in the month of June or July, at a New Moon". Though it was a "Solemn Festival and general meeting none were compelled". Some went to one Pagoda and some to another. "The greatest solemnity", he adds, "is performed in the City of Kandy".

The Painted Stick

The most sacred object of worship was the *Painted Stick* hung with flowers and "wrapped in branched silk, some part covered and some not. The people bowed down and worshipped this and each one presented it with an offering. After receiving the free will offering of the people "the Priest takes the painted stick on his

shoulder, having a cloth tied about his mouth to keep his breath from polluting the pure piece of wood, and also upon an elephant all covered with white cloth which he rides with all triumph that King and Kingdom can offer through all the streets of the City. But before him go, first some forty or fifty elephants with brass bells hanging on each side, which tingle as they go ".

Giants

Next in order followed men "dressed up" like giants: after these "a great multitude of Drummers, and Trumpeters and Pipers; then followed a company of men dancing. After them came women of such castes and trade as are necessary for the service of the Pagoda". Among the latter were potters and washerwomen in different groups by themselves "three and three in a row, holding one other by the hand." Between each of these groups 'go Drummers, Pipers and Dancers'.

"Kataraga Dio and Paththini Dio"

Within a yard of the Priest with the Painted Stick on his shoulder, two other Priests, one on the left and the other on the right, followed on mounted elephants. One of them "represented" the *Kataragama* deity and the other the Goddess Paththini. "These three Gods that ride here in company" says Knox, "are accounted of all other greatest and chiefest, each one having his residence in a several Pagoda".

Ladies

The elephants which carried these Gods were followed by cook women with 'things like whisks in their hands to scare away flies—dressed in all their finery'. After these 'walked thousands of ladies and gentlemen such as of the better sort of the inhabitants of the land arrayed in the bravest manner'. As in our own day,

Knox is faithful to add, 'all the beauties of Zeylone in their bravery go to attend their Gods in their progress about the city'.

The streets were decorated gaily with flags and pennons adorned with "boughs and branches" of coconut trees "hanging like fringes". The roads along which the procession wended its way were lit with lamps 'both day and night'.

Commanders and Soldiers

The rear was led by the commanders accompanied by soldiers. They were sent by the King so that the "ceremonies are decently performed". The procession took place "one by day and once at night". The entire festival is said to have lasted 'from the *New Moon* until the *Full Moon*'.

Significance of the Painted Stick

Knox explains that the "Painted Stick" represented '*Allout Neur Dio*', that is 'the God and maker of Heaven and Earth'. Most of us are familiar with the antiquity of the worship of Murugan (*Kataragama Deo*) in Ceylon, and the popularity of the worship of Kannaki (*Paththini Deo*) in Ceylon since the days of Gajabahu I.

To appreciate the significance of the Painted Stick one has to refer to the *Silappadikaram*, the epic of the *Anklet*. The *Silappadikaram* which relates the story of Kannaki, the chaste wife of Kovalan who was deified as Paththini, the goddess of Chastity, is also a treatise on Dance. The epic shows how religious dances were centred round the worship of Murugan known as the Kathirgaman God in Ceylon, and Mayon (Vishnu) and Korravai (Durga).

It will be recalled that Gajabahu I (113-135 A.D.) had been present, very likely at the invitation of the

Chera King Senguttuvan, at the dedication of the Paththini Temple. On his return to Ceylon he is said to have brought with him Tamil colonists, (most of whom were skilled workers) and settled them in different districts —Alut Kuruwa, Sarasiya Patty, Pansiya Pattu, Thampane, Hewehetta, Yatinuwara, Egoda Tiha, Megoda Tiha (Rajavali).

The colonists were all Tamils. The Perahera, as Knox saw it, was in all probability a festival originated by these colonists who had introduced the Paththini Cult brought by them from their mother country. The worship of Murugan (Kataragana Dio) was probably as ancient as, if not earlier than, the period of Vijaya himself.

The significance of the Painted Stick is described in *Silappadikaram*. The story goes that during a dance in Indra's heaven, Indra's son Jayantha and Uruvasi behaved in an improper manner; and that Agastiya who was present cursed Jayantha to be born as a bamboo stick in the Vindhyas and Uruvasi to be born as a human dancer. Agstiya eventually modified the curse by declaring that the bamboo stick be used as a *Talikol* (the 'leading' or 'Head Stick') gaily painted and decorated and taken in procession as a symbol of the art of dance, and that human dance artists born in the line of Uruvasi should worship the Talikol and then exhibit their skill in the Art of Dancing.

The word Perehera would appear to be the 'Sinhalesed' form of the Tamil 'piraharam', meaning the "Veediya" or the pathway round the precincts of a Hindu temple. Thus (Suththu) piraharam means a sacred procession round the temple precincts held annually in honour of the deity as it is taken round to the accompaniment of dance, music and other forms of rejoicing. In the *Silappadikaram* as well as in the Epic *Manimekhalai* (a Buddhist Epic in Tamil) the festival

held in honour of Indra is described. The *Allout Neur Dio* corresponds to the Tamil Puthu (new) Neur (Ur) the New City. The new town was probably named by the new colonists and dedicated to Indra the Hindu "God and maker of Heaven and Earth".

I give below more recent accounts of the Perehera from three different sources. The first is a fairly detailed description compiled by an European official in the Ceylon Government in the year MDCCCXXXIV (1834). This account 'compiled from material furnished by a Native Chief', is found in fuller detail in the Ceylon Almanac for the year MDCCCXXXIV, page 210.

"The Perehera[1] commenced with the New Moon in Essela (August), and continued to the full moon.

"Until the reign of King Kirtisree[2] (A.D. 1747-1780) the Perehera was celebrated exclusively in honour of the four Hindu Deities—Natha,[3] Vishnu, Kataragam[4] and Paththini[5] and was altogether unconnected with Buddhism.

"The Perehera began with the consecration and hewing down of a young jak tree, and cutting the trunk into four legs and placing one before each of the four temples.

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1 Perehera, is the Pali used form of the Tamil பிரகாரம் (Piraharam, i.e. the 'Veediya' or the 'Veethi' round the temple).

2 Kirthi Sri Rajasingha(m), a Tamil King and a Hindu who was King of KANDY (A.D. 1747-1780).

3 NATHA, i.e. Siva, the Supreme Being.

4 KATARAGAM or KATARAGAMA; Tamil, KATHIRAGAMAM, i.e., the Village (Kamam) let by the refulgence of Siva, the light of the Sun. (GAMA PALI); Tamil KIRAMAM *(கிராமம்)* KAMAM, (கமம் Village).

5 PATHTHINI, the Goddess of Chastity. Paththini is another name for Kannakai, the heroine of SILAPPADIKARAM, the Tamil Epic of the second century A.D. The worship of Paththini was introduced into Ceylon in the reign of Gajabahu I (A.D. 114-136). Gajabahu, according to the *Silappadikaram*, was present at the dedication of the temple to Kannakai. On his return to Ceylon he is said to have brought with him a number of skilled workmen and artisans to Ceylon who were settled in different villages in the island.

(The temples of Natha, Vishnu, Kataragam and Paththini).

"On the fifth day Randolee[6] (or the golden Palanquin[7] belonging to the consorts of the gods Natha, Vishnu, Kataragam Deo and of the goddess Paththini) were brought forth to join the procession; the Patripo[8] (Octagon near the Maligawa temple) was decorated sumptuously with gold cloth and the chiefs, the soldiery and the inhabitants in general, in their best attire assembled; each department proceeded with its appropriate arms and banners.

"The two Adigars[9] and the Gajanaike[10] Nilame (chief of the elephant department) holding an ankusa[11] took their station in the great square on the right — the King in rich dress came into the Patripo, when the curtains were drawn aside. As soon as the King was presented to the public view, the leader of the band of singers recited an invocation in verse — instrumental music followed.

"The two Adigars and all the other chiefs presented themselves in view of the King, uttered loud prayers

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6 RANDOLEE is the corruption of the Tamil THANGA(M) = fine or pure gold and oli (ஒளி) a covert i.e. the gold covert or casket in which the idol or relic was carried during the procession.

7 PALLANQUIN (Tamil, Pallakku). Palanquin is the English word derived from the Tamil Pallakku (பல்லக்கு) in Malay the carriage is called 'PALANKI'.

8 PATRIPO (PATTIRUPPU) means a 'Silken Dais'. It is the combination of the two Tamil words Pattu (பட்டு) = silk and Iruppu (இருப்பு) = seat. The silken Dais in which the King took his seat on festive occasions. 'The Patripo (the octagon near the Maligawa temple) was decorated sumptuously with gold cloth.

9 ADIGAR Tamil Athikar or Athikari (அதிகாரம்) meaning 'a chief', 'one who exercises authority'. An 'Athipathi (அதிபதி)

10 GAJANAIKE; Tamil KAYAM (கயம்) = elephant and NAIKE (NAYAGAM— (நாயகம்) = Lord or chief. 'The chief of elephant'. (Cf. GAJABAHU (PALI) Tamil, 'KAYAPAHAN', a Pandyan Royal title.)

11 AMKUSA (Tamil அங்குசம்) (ANKUSAM), 'an elephant's goad'.

for the prosperity of the monarch and his kingdom, and paid homage by prostration.

"The king then asked the first Adigar about the Dissavanies[12] and districts; the Adigar gave a description of the different classes of people and how they were marshalled. The king expressed his desire that the Chiefs should adjourn to the area opposite to the Devale and then conduct the procession.

"The chiefs proceeded thither and returned headed by their respective banners when they repeated the honours to his Majesty as before.

"The petty headmen were ordered to proceed and lead the procession. The Chiefs remained. The King repaired to the Maligawa[13] and brought with his own hands the Karandoowe[14] which he placed in the 'ranhilligey'[15] upon the elephant, and proceeded on foot to the square where he took his stand on the 'haridagala'[16] (a stone having the figure of the moon carved upon it) with a silver wand in his hand, and followed in the train of the procession in the Randolee."

(The order in which the procession was arranged is described here briefly by the writer)

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12 DISSAVANI; from the two Tamil words THISAI (திசை) a region (larger than a district) and VANNI, 'a chief' i.e. "a region under a VANNIYAR or CHIEF."

13 MALIGAWA from the Tamil 'MALIHAI (மாளிகை) a palace; 'a strong edifice'.

14 KARANDOOWE or KARANDAWA, from the Tamil KARANDE (கரண்டை) an abode of Rishi or sages. Here the KARANDAWA is the receptacle containing the image of the deity or the tooth relic of the Buddha as the case might be.

15 RANHILLEGEY (Vide Note 6 above:) Ran=Thangam (தங்கம்) in Tamil meaning 'pure gold'. Here Ranhillegay would mean 'the golden house or canopy under which the KARANDAWA is placed on the back of the elephant. (cf. Rangavadam (S); Rang (T) golden and 'Vadam' (T) cloth. The golden cloth worn by the kings household guards round their heads.

16 HARIDAGALA: Harida is the Prakrit for 'Moon' and Gala (S) is the Tamil Kal (கல்) The King standing on a stone on which the moon was inscribed is meant to invoke the blessing of the gods on the Pandyan dynasty (the lunar or moon dynasty) to which the kings of Ceylon claimed to belong.

The Last Night of the Perehera

"On the last night of the Perehera, after the procession had gone round the streets, it separated into two divisions: that part of it attached to the four gods taking a direction towards the ferry Getambe, and the other part belonging to the sacred relics proceeding to the Adahammuluwe,[17] a spot set apart for religious purpose and assemblies of priests the limits of which are marked by carved stones within which the kings of Kandy are said to have had no authority.

"Here the shrine was removed from the elephant and deposited on a platform made for the purpose, where it remained receiving the adoration of the worshippers till 10 o'clock on the following morning.

Water Cutting Ceremony

"Meanwhile the other part of the procession having arrived at the river side, the ceremony of cutting water (*Dia Kappanawa*)[18] took place. The Caporales[19] and other officers of the respective temples were rowed to the middle of the river in decorated canoes, where the Caporales with a golden sword described a circle in the water from the centre of which each filled a golden vase (T. Chembu), and the water which was taken in the preceding year was poured out again. The proces-

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17 ADAHAN MULUWE; ADAHAN is probably from the Tamil word ADIHAL *(அடிகள்)* meaning 'MUNIS', RISHIS or PRIESTS, and MULUWE the Tamil MULAI *(மூலை)* 'a corner', 'a dwelling place set apart' (cf. also the Tamil *(அடைத்தல்* ADAITHTHAL) 'securing', and *(அடைக்கலம்)* (ADAIKKALAM) a 'refuge', 'Asylum'.

18 DIA KAPPANAWA. SINHALESE: 'DIA', 'WATER' and 'KAPPANAWA' 'to cut'. It is a litteral translation of the Hindu ceremony. In Tamil it is also referred to as the 'THEPAM FESTIVAL' because the cutting of the water is done by priests who row out on a Thepam or boat. DIA again is probably derived from the Tamil THIAM *(தியம்)* or *(தீம்)* meaning 'sweet' 'delicious'.

19 CAPORALES (KAPURALAS). Generally a Veddah placed in charge of the Deity in a Kovil in the Sinhalese Districts particularly in the Veddah country.

sion then went to the spot where the relic had been deposited. After which the whole procession made a circuit of the city and halted between Natha and Maha Dewales, from whence the different parties returned to their respective temples."

Here is another aaccount of the Perehera from the work of a well known Sinhalese scholar (the late Mr. E. W. Perera), entitled *Sinhalese Banners and Standards* (Series A, No. 2), and quoted by Dr. H. M. de Silva, another distinguished Sinhalese, in the *Times of Ceylon* of 14.XII.56, in an article entitled, *"The Sinhalese and the Tamils are Related"*.

"In ancient times, in Lanka, the Hindu King was carried behind the procession with its golden *Howdah.* And like the former Kings of Lanka he[20] wished to display to the different classes of his subjects the rejoinings that were held in honour of Natha, Vishnu and other gods, regarded by all as conducive to prosperity. With this object preparations were made throughout the city that it resembled the city of the gods.

"He caused the emblems of the gods in the temples to be placed on elephants and commanded them to be taken in procession accompanied before and after by elephants and a host of dancers, by numbers of elephants and horses, by men dressed as Brahmins gorgeously arrayed, by persons holding various umbrellas and chowries[21] (yak-tail fans); by numbers of women,

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20 'he', refers to KIRITI SREE (KIRTHI SRI) RAJASINGHA (M) mentioned here as emulating the former Hindu Kings of Ceylon.

21 CHOWRIES, the anglicised form of the Tamil KAVARI (கவரி) 'KAVARI VAL' in Tamil means the tail of the Yak, used to fan idols in procession. The YAK TAIL hair was also used as a wig by females. KAMBAN in his Tamil RAMAYANAM (10th century) refers to it as one of the articles on sale in the markets of the Tamil country.

"வரப்பறு மணியும் பொன்னு மாரமும் கவரி வாலும்"

(MITHILAI PADALAM V. 20)

officers of state, sword bearers, shield bearers, spearmen and men at arms; by people carrying scarfs and flags, by men of foreign countries, men skilled in different languages, by crowds of artisans and craftsmen and assemblage of people.

"The King followed in Royal state like the King of Heaven, and when he had traversed the whole city with the procession (Perehera) returned and entered the Palace. While our great King thus celebrated *Esala Festival* yearly, he thought it proper as his faith and wisdom increased, that it ought to be preceded by a procession in honour of Buddha.

"Until the reign of King Kirti Sree (Rajasingha, A.D. 1747-1780) the Perehera was celebrated exclusively in honour of the four deities — Natha, Vishnu, Kataragam, and Paththini and altogether unconnected with Buddhism. The sacred Dalada Relic of Buddha was first carried in procession, together with the insignia of the four gods in A.D. 1775; the circumstances which gave rise to this innovation were as follows:

"The Siamese[22] priests who were invited hither by the King Kirti Sree in the year of Saka 1675, for the purpose of restoring the *Upasampadawa* (the highest degree of ordination in the Buddhist religion) one day hearing the noise Jingalls etc., inquired the cause, and were informed that preparations were being made for celebrating a festival in honour of the Gods; they took umbrage at this and observed that they had been made

22 The Siamese Priests were invited by the Hindu Tamil King of Kandy KIRITI SREE for Ordaining Buddhist Priests. It may be observed, incidentally that the Siamese were at an earlier period Saivites. Quaritch Wales in his 'SIAMESE STATE CEREMONIES' states, "They have also one hymn in Tamil, written in one Indian character, but this language they do not likewise understand — the tests which the Siamese Brahmins now possess are the Sanskrit and Tamil Mantra (hymns) with instruction in Siamese for the preliminary rites intended to be used in daily worship, and as an introduction to the more important ceremonies." Page 55. The Tamil mantra is the 'opening of the Patals of Kailasa', p. 56.

to believe that Buddhism was the established religion, and that they had never expected to see Hinduism triumphant at Kandy. To appease[23] them the King sent emissaries to assure them that this festival was chiefly intended to glorify the memory of Buddha and to convince them of it, the King gave directions that the great relic should be carried foremost in the procession. He at the same time dedicated his own howdah.. in which the *Karanduwa* was placed during the procession to the Malegawa temple, and this howdah has been so used ever since. The King and his successors never after that had a howdah when they rode on elephants.

"Seven or eight years before the accession of the present Government the since deposed king bestowed a Rinhillegey on each of the four Devales[24] in Kandy; they had none before.

"This clearly proves how Buddhism usurped the Hindu rites and how it adapted these to its own purpose."

I give below, for what it is worth a brief account of an eye witness of the Perehera in our own day.

"The Perehera (Tamil= பிரகாரம்) (Piraharam) starts from the Paththini (Kannakai Temple) with the hoisting of the flag and the planting of a tree. Round the trunk of the tree is tied a string. This ceremony is called "*Kap-Sittaveema*", and in Tamil *Kāpukaddu*[25] (Tamil = காப்புக்கட்டு) i.e. 'tying of the bangle'. The

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23 The Kings of Ceylon had all to appease the Buddhist priests. The numerical strength of the priests and the hold they had on the common people would appear to have been great. Still it was not the clamour of the people but the demand of the Priesthood that obliged the King to introduce the innovation.

24 DEWALES: The English form of the Tamil THEVA ALAYAM (தேவாலயம்) 'the temple of the gods'.

25 KAPPUKKADDU. Tamil காப்புக்கட்டு. காப்பு (Kappu) in Tamil 'bangle' and (கட்டு) (Kaddu), 'to tie'.

Sinhala term it will be noticed is a literal translation of the Tamil word.

"During the first five days, the Procession (Perehera) is confined to the *ul-veethi* (உள்வீதி). The procession is called '*kumbal*'[26] Perehera in Sinhalese.

The Perehera proper (Suthu-Pirakaram also known as ஊர்வலம் in Tamil) takes the form of a procession round the streets of the city. On this final day which is a full moon day the procession is headed by the Tooth Relic.

"The water cutting ceremony — (*theertham* or நீர்வெட்டு) i.e. the *Dia Kappanuwa* (a literal translation of the Tamil expression in Sinhalese), takes place in the Mahavali Ganga that skirts the city near Katugastota and forms the grand culmination of the Festival. A box that is carried in the procession is dipped in the water of the river, and the water is cut with a sword.

"When the water cutting ceremony is over, the Procession wends its way to the Paththini *Devale* back again and from there proceeds to the Maligawa temple. A chembu (செம்பு) (Chembuva in Sinhalese) which contains the 'water cut', is taken on this journey to the main temple and preserved till the next year."

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26 KUMBAL possibly from 'Bumbal' or 'Kuvial' (Tamil) a procession *en masse*, together (not a methodically arranged one as the procession round the city) and confined to the immediate precincts of the temple.

OBITUARY

A. C. PAUL NADAR

This memento of a great gentleman and scholar appears on the occasion of the first anniversary of his departure from this life. He was the closest and staunchest supporter of Father Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, the Chief Editor of this journal, when it made its first appearance in 1951. The late Mr. Paul Nadar was instrumental in enlisting the support of scholars to contribute articles as well as of enthusiasts to subscribe to the journal, and himself contributed valuable articles on the *Tirukkural* and the date of the *Kamba Ramayanam.* He was an authority on '*Kamba Ramayanam*', and his research work on the text of the Great Epic, as well as on the Age of Kamban, and his contribution as a member of 'The Kamba Ramayana Variorum Committee' of the Annamalai University speak for his outstanding abilities as a Tamil Scholar. He was a person of unusual general education, and there was hardly a subject on which he could not converse with enlightened understanding.

His activities were many and varied. In his hometown of Tuticorin for the last three decades, he was the Secretary of the Christian Association, President of the Buy-Indian League, President of the Kambar Kazhagam, the founder-President of the Culture Society, President of the Co-operative Society and Vice-President of the Caldwell Old Boys' Association. During the war-days he was President of the A.R.P. and of the Food Rationing Committee. He was also the Founder-member and Treasurer of the Fellowship Ashram at Kodaikanal, where he helped to make a remarkable experiment on Christian Fellowship succeed. No literary circle in South India was complete without him.

Sri A. Christian Paul was born on the 1st of December, 1882, in the village of Kudankulam, Nanguneri Taluk, Tirunelveli Dist. He came of an illustrious family of Tamil Scholars, steeped in the rich Hindu Culture of Tamil Nad and the boy was named Sankaramoorthy after his grand-father. He was educated at the Pope Memorial High School and later at the Caldwell High School. He graduated from the Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly where he came under the benign influence of the late Bishop Pakenham-Walsh, who was then his Professor, Principal and Spiritual Adviser.

After graduation, Sri A. C. Paul worked for some time as a clerk in the Collector's Office, Tirunelveli, where he came into contact with Mr. Devadason of Tanjore, brother-in-law of the late Sri M. Abraham Pandithar, author of the great work on Tamil music. Mr. Devadason introduced him to the family and later in July, 1908 he married Soundravalli Ammal, the accomplished second daughter of Sri Abraham Pandithar. The literary luminaries of Tamil Nad were all his close friends, and his loyalty and simplicity won their admiration. Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Dr. S. Jesudason, Dr. E. Forrester Paton, Bishop Pakenham-Walsh and Bishop Stephen Neill were some of the many friends who were honoured guests at 'Soundra Vilas,' Tuticorin, and through Paul Nadar came to know of the Tamil heritage. Paul Nadar's educational and literary interests were maintained unto his last day.

On the evening of the 18th of June, 1960 after attending an important meeting of the Kamba Ramayana Variorum Committee of the Annamalai University at Annamalai Nagar, Paul Nadar boarded the Madura Parcel Passenger for Madras. The Call came before he could complete his journey. At 1.40 a.m. on

the 19th of June, 1960, Sri A. C. Paul Nadar peacefully and quietly entered the Land of the Living. He had spent 77 years, 5 months and 18 days on the earth.

Sri A. C. Paul Nadar leaves behind him his three daughters and grand-children, and numerous relatives and friends to carry on the Torch of Light handed on to them as their heritage by him.

News and Notes

TAMIL STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

The Department of Indian Studies initiated its session this academic year (1961-1962) with a Professor of Indian Studies, a Lecturer, two Assistant Lecturers and one Graduate Assistant. It is expected that in the near future two new appointments will be made, a Lecturer in Indian Culture and another in Sanskrit, since these posts have been advertised.

There are this year 67 students enrolled in the Department of Indian Studies of whom about thirty are Malay and Chinese speakers. The Malay and Chinese under-graduates to whom Tamil is a foreign tongue, take courses in elementary Tamil as well as in the History of Tamil Literature and Indian Culture. Tamil classics are introduced to them through translations. It is expected that they will be able to read Tamil books in the second year of their course. Many of them choose these courses for their cultural value, as well as to learn a language spoken by many of the people among whom they live. They take these courses either as principal or as subsidiary courses for their examinations. Lessons in Tamil for beginners will be worked out in collaboration with the Linguistics Department of the Annamalai University, South India.

To about thirty-five undergraduates who are enrolled in the Department, Tamil is the mother-tongue

or almost a mother tongue. Eight of them are enrolled for Honours courses in Tamil, and the rest for general courses. The Honours courses are similar to the courses at the Annamalai and Madras Universities, and it is envisaged that shortly there will be a modernisation and reorientation of the course with greater emphasis on modern literature and criticism, and the history of Tamil Language, and the History of inter-cultural and inter-language contacts of South-East Asia.

There is to be also greater inter-departmental collaboration. The Tamil Honours students follow courses in general linguistics given in the English Department by Dr. G. S. Waldo, and will study also South-East Asia. Courses are being worked out in Indian Culture and Tamil Culture and Tamil Literature for those who do not speak an Indian Language.

A most promising feature of the Department is its forthcoming programme of research studies. Two graduates are preparing a thesis each for the Master's degree, their subjects being Tamil Dialects in Malaya, and Social Life in the Tamil Classical Age. Two of the Assistant Lecturers are also preparing theses for higher degrees, one on a twentieth century philosopher-thinker Thiru V. Kalyanasundaranar and the other on the Western contribution to Tamil Scholarship with special reference to Dr. G. U. Pope.

Research students who worked under Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L., D.Litt., in the University of Madras, during his 25 years of distinguished service.

I. RESEARCH STUDENTS

No.	Name		Subject
1.	M. K. Rhangavelu	..	A Critical study of Pathupattu
2.	A. Krishnamurthy	..	A Critical study of Sangam Vocabulary
3.	Alagia Chockalingam	..	The historic places of Ancient Thamizhagam
4.	C. Subramaniam	..	The contribution of Dr. G. U. Pope to Tamil Litt.
5.	K. Govindan	..	Study of Purapporul in Tamil Litt.
6.	J. Sarangapani Iyengar	..	Sangam Vocabulary
7.	S. Shankar Raju Naidu	..	The comparative study of Kamba Ramayanam and Thulasi Ramayanam
8.	M. Kanagasundari	..	Vocabulary of Cilappathikaram (A study)
9.	Heinz Tittlebach (Germany)	..	Study of Tamil Language
10.	J. R. Marr (England)	..	Pathirtrup Patthu
11.	P. S. Indra	..	A Somantic study of Sangam Vocabulary
12.	R. Shanmugham	..	Social lives of the Tamils in Sangam Litt.
13.	P. Balasubramanian	..	A study of the Literature of Thondaimandalam

No.	Name		Subject
14.	S. Hameed		A contribution of European Savants to Tamil with special reference to Dr. G. U. Pope
15.	V. T. Balasubramanian	..	A critical study of the sacred hymns of St. Thirunavukkarasu
16.	M. E. Saraswathi	..	Women characters in Periyapuranam
17.	J. Rajalakshmi	..	A critical study of St. Gnanasambandar's Thevaram
18.	Mary Devapackiyam	..	The history of the early Xian settlement in Tinnevelly Dt.
19.	K. V. Dakshiyaini	..	Political ideas in Kamba Ramayanam
20.	M. R. Ilangovan	..	Studies in Artruppadai Literature in Tamil
21.	S. Arumugham	..	Development of Tamil Litt. under later Cholas
22.	G. Sankararajulu	..	Development of religious thought in Tamil Litt.
23.	K. Meenakshisundaram	..	The contribution of European scholars to Tamil Language and Literature
24.	P. Andrew Sathia Satchy	..	The 19th Century Xian poets and their works
25.	Kumaravelu	..	Bharathan in Kamba Ramayanam
26.	M. S. Andronov (Russia)	..	Modern Tamil Grammar
27.	M. J. Pandiaraj	..	——

No.	Name		Subject
28.	V. Shanmugha-sundaram	..	——
29.	H. Seethalakshmi	..	——
30.	T. Vairamuttu	..	Kamba Ramayanam and Kandapuranam — A comparative study
31.	V. N. Gnanaprakasam	..	Contribution of Fr. Beschi to Tamil

II. RESEARCH FELLOWS

1.	S. Arumugha Mudaliar	..	Secular literary works in Tamil of the Pallava period
2.	N. Sanjeevi	..	A critical study of Purananuru
3.	A. R. Indra	..	A study of minor characters in Kamba Ramayanam

III. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESEARCH STUDENTS

1.	K. Mahadeva Sastri	..	The historical grammar of the Telugu Language
2.	R. Shanmugham	..	Marpho — Phonemics of Tamil Language
3.	Rama Ramanathan	..	Treatment of war in Tamil Litt. from Tholkappiam down to Kamba Ramayanam

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL *

1. The Tamil Children's Writers' Association has contributed not a little to the development of children's literature so that today there are about 300 to 400 children's books for the age-group four to eight. However, greater attention will have to be paid to content and illustrations. Some of the illustrations in books are devoid of any educational value. For example, there is an illustration of a man attacking a walrus in the Arctic Zone but clothed as lightly as workmen would be in Madras with bare feet and bare chest.

2. There might be an increase in books which deal with everyday experiences — (the postman, the policeman, pets and toys), about machines (trains, buses, sputniks) and about children of other countries. Children would be quite taken up with some of the Children's books which have been translated from Russian into Tamil — the gripping narrative, the illustrations and the low costs. e.g. Kto ckazal miav — மியாவ் என்றது யார்?

3. Tamil has hardly any literature to offer for the age-group nine to sixteen, i.e. for children of secondary school-going age. But this is precisely the age at which great language and vocabulary development takes place. The child which enters school at 5 + may know about four thousand words, and may know about 10,000 to 15,000 by the time he leaves High school, his yearly vocabulary increasing on an average of about a thousand words per year.

Thorndike estimated that a literate adult should have read by the age of 20 a total of five million words in print in order to be familiar with the 20 to 30,000 words

* A note submitted to the Tamil Research and Development Council, Madras State.

necessary in a democracy. Now, suppose, an average Tamil book contains 10,000 words, the Tamil student would require 500 books in different fields, e.g. biography, scientific fiction, travel, civics, adventure, romantic fiction, etc. Do we have even fifty to hundred books for this age group ?

4. It has been found that the psychological needs of the age-group nine to sixteen require stories of animals, machines and gadgets, everyday experiences of problems of the home, of friendships, of school-life, biographies, stories of careers (army-life, nursing, seaman's vocation) and historical fiction — books in Tamil which might correspond to Black Beauty, Lassie Come Home, Little Women, Little Men, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Treasure Island, Children of the New Forest. We need imaginative writers of juvenile fiction who will exploit the Tamil environment and Tamil history for this purpose.

5. Text-books in Tamil are being prepared at Collegiate level. We might also plan for the publication of general books in Tamil without which undergraduates might not attain that level of general culture which is one of the principal aims of a good University Education.

S. THANI NAYAGAM

TAMIL STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Department of Tamil Studies was started under the Headship of the eminent Oriental scholar Dr. K. V. Zvelebil, CSC., — one of our regular contributors and the Head of the Department Dravidiology, Oriental Institute, Czechoslovakia — at Charles University in Prague, in autumn 1960, with three students. Among them one is specializing in Tamil Philology and comparative Dravidian Linguistics, the other in South Indian History, and the third, a girl, in Tamil Literature, under the guidance of Dr. K. V. Zvelebil. The course in Tamil studies lasts five years.

SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES IN UNIVERSITIES OF THE NORTH

The University Grants Commission have approved the scheme of the University of Allahabad for the teaching of Tamil and Telugu. This is in addition to the schemes of five other Universities, viz., Aligarh Muslim, Banaras Hindu, Delhi, Bombay and Saugar, which have already been approved. This was disclosed by Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education, in the Lok Sabha on August 22. Progress of work in other universities, which have undertaken to introduce South Indian Languages in their curriculum is satisfactory, the Minister added.

SCHOOL FOR TRAINING IN ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEW DELHI

A School for Training in Archaeology has been opened in New Delhi for the purpose of imparting intensive practical training in various branches of archaeology. Its syllabus includes practical training in excavation, publication, preservation of monuments, chemical preservation and museum methods. This will be supplemented by lectures in geology, anthropology, environmental archaeology, pre-historic, proto-historic and early historical archaeology, art, architecture, palaeography and numismatics, so that the theoretical background is also given its due share. As the students, after the completion of their training are expected to be adequately equipped to adopt archaeology as their profession, provision has also been made for the teaching of the antiquarian laws in force in the country. The duration of the course is fifteen months starting from October and concluding in December in the following year.

Admission to the course will be restricted to candidates who have obained a Master's or equivalent

Honours degree of a recognised university in Indian History, Sanskrit, Pali, the Prakritas, Persian, Arabic or Archaeology.

With manifold increase in archaeological activities in the country, a problem that posed itself was that of securing trained personnel for the archaeological departments. During the last few years several State Governments have felt the want of suitably trained hands to take up assignments under their respective charges. This problem has all along been engaging the attention of the Government and in his opening address to the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, held in New Delhi in September, 1957, the late Maulana Azad, then Minister of Education, pointedly referred to the problem and suggested that a School of Archaeology might be opened under the auspices of the Union Department of Archaeology.

The Sixth Annual General Body Meeting of the Academy of Tamil Culture was held at the Government Arts College, Madras, on the 30th August 1960 and the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1960-61.

President :

Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai

Vice-Presidents :

Mr. Justice V. Subramanyam
Mr. Karumuttu Thiagarajan Chettiar
Mr. A. Subbiah
Rao Sahib N. Murugesa Mudaliar

Hony. Secretaries :

Rao Sahib K. Kodandapani Pillai
Mr. C. Amritaganesan

Hony. Treasurers :

Mr. V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
Mr. V. Shanmugasundaram

Following the business meeting there was a public meeting attended by several Tamil scholars, professors and students. The meeting was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Subrahmanyam. In his introductory remarks he described the greatness of Tamil language and literature pointing out the ancient language of Tamil in different parts.

Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Chief Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary, University of Madras, spoke about his paper on 'Thiruvalluvar's Message to the World' presented at the XXV International Congress of Orienalists at Moscow. He spoke about the greatness of 'Thirukkural' analysing and explaining a few chapters of 'Enthusiasm', 'Manly Effort', 'Against Idleness' and 'Agriculture and Good Conduct'.

He also said that there were several questions about the Sangam period at the Congress and he explained the same. He also said that scholars appreciated him much when he told them that there were no caste distinctions prevalent in olden days and that the social set up was based on the different walks of life or profession.

Mr. N. Sanjeevi, Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras, who then addressed the gatherng said that there are several Tamil words in Malayan language.

Mr. S. N. Chokkalingam, Lecturer in Tamil, Government Arts College, Madras, spoke about the experiences he had at Russia during the period of his stay there for about 3 years, and expressed his admiration for the keen interest shown by the Russian scholars in the study of Tamil language and literature.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. K. Kodandapani Pillai.

The Seventh Annual General Body Meeting of the Academy of Tamil Culture was held at the Pachaiyappa's College, Main Hall, Madras, on the 30th August 1961 and the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1961-62.

President :

Dr. M. Varadarajan

Vice-Presidents :

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram
Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam
Mr. Karumuttu Thiagaraja Chettiar
Rao Sahib N. Murugesa Mudaliar
Dr. Kamil Zvelebil

Hony. Secretaries :

Rao Sahib K. Kodandapani Pillai
Dr. S. Shankar Raju

Hony. Treasurers :

Mr. V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
Mr. C. Amritaganesan

Following the business meeting, there was a public meeting attended by several Tamil scholars, professors and students. Dr. M. Varadarajan, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Madras, presided over the meeting.

In his introductory remarks, he said about the greatness of Tamil language and literature, recognised by foreign scholars. He paid tributes to Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Czechoslovakia, an indefatigable research worker, who is regularly contributing scholarly articles to *Tamil Culture* and he invited the public to subscribe to the Journal and promote the worthy cause of Tamil. On behalf of the Academy of Tamil Culture, he appeal-

ed to all scholars to evince keen interest in the development of the Academy by enrolling themselves as members and contributing to *Tamil Culture*, the official quarterly of the Academy.

Prof. A. M. Paramasivanandam, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, said that culture has to be developed and cultivated. He analysed culture and agriculture and explained how the two are linked together. He developed his thesis by quoting several examples from Sangam classics and also other works of later period. He stressed in his impressive address the outstanding features of Tamil culture and the antiquity of the same.

Dr. V. A. Devasenapathy, Department of Philosophy, University of Madras, said that Philosophy and religion have been an essential part of Tamil culture. He appealed to the younger generation to help in the important task of making western cultural heritage available in Tamil by finding suitable equivalents for concepts and technical terms.

Maha Vidwan M. V. Venugopala Pillai, Madras, who then addressed the gathering spoke about the place of Kuttiyaluharam in Tamil and explained the same, with a general survey of the Tamil alphabets and their phonetic set up.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks proposed by Dr. S. Shankar Raju.

BOOKS RECEIVED

தொல்காப்பிய ஆராய்ச்சி — சி. இலக்குவனார்.

பக்கங்கள் 285 விலை ரூ. 5.00

வள்ளுவர் பதிப்பகம், புதுக்கோட்டை,

திருச்சி மாவட்டம்.

பிரதிபேத ஆராய்ச்சி (Research in Textual Variations)

பக்கங்கள் 91 விலை ரூ. 1.75

மூ. இராமகிருட்டிணன்,

வேங்கடாசலபுரம், (வழி) தேனி,

மதுரை மாவட்டம்.

Vol. IX. No. 4 OCT.—DEC. 1961

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

 Rs. 10 yearly

The project itself is ambitious and may not succeed unless there is wide collaboration from Tamil scholars all over the world. In order that the project may have the widest circulation we are publishing as appendices to this Editorial Note, the circulars issued by the Chief Editor of the Project.

A yet more arduous project awaits planning, and that is a bibliographical guide to *articles in foreign language periodicals* about Tamil Studies. Tamil scholars who are collaborating in this project may have in mind also the guide to periodicals which may be compiled at a later date. We hope all readers of *Tamil Culture* will render all such assistance as is possible to them for the success of this project.

Muttoḷḷāyiram

M. S. H. THOMPSON

This is an interesting work, though not often mentioned in histories of Tamil Literature. There is little positive history in it, but much poetry.

In a footnote on p. 6 of the first edition of his *Cilappatikāram* (1892) Dr. Sāminātha Ayyar made reference to the anthology from which later a fragmentary but continuous text of Mut., was obtained.[1] A slightly abridged version of this text, consisting of 105 stanzas grouped according to topic, appeared as Supplement No. 14 of *Centamil* (1905).[2] It was edited by R. Rāghava Ayyangar with a short but valuable introduction and scholarly notes. A fuller text was edited a few years later by Vaiyapuri Pillai for Madras University, but gave one of the additional stanzas in mutilated form.[3] Two annotated editions of the work appeared a few years later. The first of them provides in simplified form the text of 99 of the 109 stanzas of the anthology, excluding the badly mutilated stanza altogether and giving the remaining nine stanzas in an appendix for further study, since they are considered defective in one respect or another. There is an entertaining commentary that explains all verbal difficulties and enters fully into the spirit of the times, though the treatment of outstanding problems is uncritical.[4] The second study also rejects the

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1 *En Carittiram*, p. 975, Madras, 1950.

2 Madurai Tamil Sangam. A second edition appeared in 1935.

3 *Oriental Research*, Vols. I (1936-37) and III (1938-39). anthology seems to have been a textbook at the old College of Fort St. George, from which F. W. Ellis drew all his illustrative stanzas for his *Kuṛaḷ* (1816).

4 *Muttoḷḷāyiram* (ed. T. K. Chidambaranātha Mudaliar), Tamilppaṇṇai, Madras, 1947.

mutilated stanza, but adds to the text 22 stanzas culled from old commentaries and thought to have once formed part of *Mut.*[5] It is more critical in its treatment of outstanding problems, but follows in its exposition of the text the lead of the previous work. It is made the basis of the present short study of *Mut.* In writing it frequent use has been made of M. Rāghava Ayyangar's anthology of fugitive verse found in the old commentaries.[6]

An old work on Tamil poetics says that poems in praise of kings should contain 900 stanzas.[7] The poet Ottakkūttar is said to have composed a poem this length in praise of a Cōla king, and the old commentary on *Vīracōliyam* mentions a similar work in praise of a king whose name the Tamil Lexicon gives as Vatsa.[8] It is possible, therefore, that the original length of *Mut.* was, as the title implies, 2,700 stanzas.[9]

The work on Tamil poetics just referred to also states that poems in praise of kings should be written round a mountain, a river, the king's dominions and the chief cities therein, the king's drum, his horse and his elephant, his garlands for ceremonial occasions, his honorific titles, and his flag.[10] The fragment of *Mut.* that we have is largely written round these insignia of royalty, which appear again and again, even in the section dealing with *kaikkilai* or the first promptings of love. This in the present case is a poetical device by which loyalty to the king is virtually personified as a

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[5] *Muttoḷḷāyiram* (ed. N. Sēthuraghunāthan), Saiva Siddhānta Publishing Co., Madras, 1958.

[6] *Peruntogai*, Madura Tamil Sangam, 1935-36.

[7] *Pannirupāttiyal* (ed. Gōvindarāja Mudaliar), 130 and 140, Saiva Siddhānta Publishing Co., Madras, 1949.

[8] *Vīracōliyam* (ed. Damōdaram Pillai), Alankāram 11, Madras, 1895.

[9] Some think the length of the poem was 900 stanzas, and quote *Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam*, *sūtra* 376, in support of their contention.

[10] *Tolkāppiyam*, Marapiyal 71.

love-sick maiden, so that we may see in the concrete how deep-seated was the people's love for their king. One of the rare occasions on which *Mut.* is referred to by name in an old commentary is in the remarks of two different commentators on *sūtra* 239 of the section of *Tolkāppiyam* dealing with prosody, which defines *viruntu* as something new in poetical composition. The term *viruntu,* as Naccinārkkiniyar, one of the commentators explains, means not a new presentation of an old topic, but an entirely new presentation of a topic not hitherto dealt with in a poetical composition, and both commentators give *kalambakam* as an additional type of such a composition.[11] Now in both cases the device of the love-sick maiden to heighten the emotional appeal of the verse figures to a very considerable extent and with dramatic effect.[12] For this reason Chidambaranātha Mudaliar presents his fragment of *Mut.* in a series of arresting scenes with daring comparisons to stimulate the imagination. So presented, one is disposed to agree with him that the fragment might well have formed part of what must have been a unique work in Tamil literature.

Since for the most part the old commentators do not give the source of their citations, it is not possible to be dogmatic about the probable source of the 22 stanzas now added to the text of *Mut.*, the more so since there are other stanzas as well in the old commentaries that read as though they might have come from *Mut.* One of the additional stanzas is a stanza of six lines, and one of the reasons given for its inclusion in the text is the fact that in his commentary on *sūtra* 158 of the section of *Tolkāppiyam* on prosody Naccinārkkiniyar states that there were verses of more than four lines in *Mut.*

[11] *Tolkāppiyam,* Cēyuḷiyal 239, with the commentary of Nac., Madurai Tamil Sangam Press, 1917. Also Vellaivāraṇan, *Tolkāppiyam,* p. 285. Aṇṇāmalai University, 1957.

[12] *Pannirupāttiyal,* 129.

But he himself, while quoting this verse in his commentary on *sūtra* 118 of the same section, does not give its source. Other commentators who make use of it also fail to do so. Four stanzas come from the commentary on *Daṇḍialankāram.*[13] It is possible that these four were composed for the occasion by the adaptor of Dandin's *Kāvyādarsa* and did not come from *Mut.* All things considered, it seems wisest, therefore, not to include in the *Mut.* text verses the source of which is doubtful.

The editor of the augmented text of 130 stanzas presents it under these heads : invocation (1), Pāṇdiyan (60), Cōlan (46), and Cēran (23). In his commentary he is at great pains to reconstruct, as far as possible, the background of each stanza, so that it may be read with insight and appreciation, in this matter going far beyond what was attempted by his predecessor and bringing an amount of scholarship to bear on his explanations that makes his commentary a valuable type of expository writing in Tamil. Incidentally historical details emerge. We note, for example, that the kings are referred only by title and not by name and no king is extolled to the detriment of either of the others. What seems to have been a time of peace and goodwill is described — a time such as is described in a poem by Avvaiyar found towards the end of *Puranānūru,* without paraphrase and with several variant readings. The poem commemorates a meeting of the three kings of the Tamil land at a sacrifice, and the poet, seeing them there, avers that that wonderful sight means to her the realization of all her hopes. The following is a free rendering of the poem :

These realms with prospects fair as those above
Pass not with you, though in your keeping now ;
But with the stranger come, they pass to him

[13] *Daṇḍialankāram* (ed. Rāmalinga Tambirān). Saiva Siddhānta Publishing Co., Madras, 1945. Also Subrahmanya Sāstri, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (in Tamil), p. 671. Aṇṇamalai University, 1946.

Who seeks not aught for self. The streaming hands
Of Brahmans raised on high, with water poured,
You fill with flowers and gold. Bright jewelled maids
Raise high the golden bowl in which they press
From fibre the clear juice you drink and praise
Aloud. To seekers, without stint, you throw
Rich gifts. The good deeds of our span of days
Below meet not our present needs alone,
But even at the end forsake us not.
O threefold flame of those whose gaze is fixed
On life's true end, their senses quelled, —
O Kings, whose chariots bear—a wondrous sight —
Your royal white umbrellas and your flags,
This is indeed the end of all my seeking.
The stars that in the heavens above do shine,
The drops of rain that with a shout descend —
Resplendent more than these be all your days.

(*Puram* 367.)

Of the three kings mentioned in the explanatory note appended to the poem only the Pāndiyan king, Ukkira Peruvaluti, figures to any extent in Tamil literature. He is mentioned in the traditional account of the founding of the Tamil academies at Madurai under royal patronage as the last of the forty-nine patrons of the last academy.[14] He witnessed some stirring scenes, including the events resulting in the recognition of *Tirukkuṛal* as a classic, and led the praise lavished on it, contributing to the tributes a stanza in which he says of the author that he was an incarnation of Brahma the Creator come to give us the essence of the Four Vēdas in a work in three parts. He had *Akanānūṛu* compiled, and it is interesting to note that this anthology, under the name of *Neduntogai Nānūṛu,* is placed first among works produced by members of the last academy.

That Tamil was now the common language of the south seems to be borne out by another of the tributes to Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his *Kuṛal* — a stanza said to have

[14] *Iraiyanār Akapporuḷ* (ed. C. R. Namasivāya Mudaliar), pp. 8-6. Madras, 1943.

been composed by the author of *Maṇimēkalai,* in which the poet says of *Kuṟaḷ* that it is a chaplet worn by the three kings of the south. In spite of frequent feuds, the bond of a common language seems at times to have brought the kings together in friendship and peace.

Mut. recaptures for us the spirit of these olden days. Some incline to the view that the author, of whom little is known, was a contemporary of the three kings.[15] Others, after a critical examination of its language and poetic imagery, think that *Mut.* belongs either to the sixth or tenth century.[16] The editor of the text now under review breaks fresh ground. He goes to the Eleventh Canon of the Saivite faith for poetry of the type found in *Mut.*, and discusses at length the similarity in thought and presentation of some of its stanzas with those of two of the poems ascribed to Nakkīradēvar in *Veṅpa* metre. He compares, for example, the following stanza from *Mut.* with the stanza given below it, which is from a poem of some fifty odd stanzas in praise of the presiding deity of Inkōimalai, a Saivite shrine on the north bank of the Kāviri, where the sage Agastya worshipped in the form of a fly :

> The only fear in the land of royal Kōdai of the poisoned spear is that of the birds shielding their young with their wings, because the sight of the red lilies with petals open wide makes them think that the muddy water in the lakes is on fire.
>
> On Inkōimalai, mount of the Lord of the flowing tresses above which has risen the bright moon, the huge mother monkey, cracking her fingers in fear on seeing bees settling on the *gloriosa superba* and thinking that they are being consumed by bright flames, leaps up into the air again and again, as if practising doing so.

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15 K. Subramania Pillai, *Ilakkiya Varalāṟu*, p. 232. Teachers Publishing House, Madras, 1949.

16 T. V. Sadāsiva Pandārathār, *History of Tamil Literature* (250-600 A.D.), p. 87. Aṇṇāmalai University, 1955. S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai, *Illakkiya Maṇimālai*, p. 50. Tamiḷ Puttakālaiyam, Madras, 1954.

The similarities pointed out are striking, though they do not rule out the possibility of mere coincidence, considering how conventionalized poetical composition is in Tamil. In any case the discussion leaves unsettled the question of the date of *Mut.* In the first edition of his commentary the editor made mention of a tradition regarding the identity of Nakkīradēvar, but in the current edition he makes no reference to it, and one is left to wonder if Nakkīradēvar is no other than Nakkīrar of Sangam times, since *Tirumurugāttruppadai* is included among his works. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that much of the vocabulary of *Mut.* is classical as well as a few of the constructions, but the presence of several Sanskrit words makes one wonder whether the work is as old as it is generally supposed to be. Perhaps it is not. This does not, however, detract from the literary merits of the fragment — its lightness of touch and delicacy of craftsmanship, which are largely lost in translation. However, the following translations are added as examples of *kaikkilai,* which forms the bulk of the work :

> (*A girl is singing while pounding rice.*) As I ply the iron-shod pestle in our small dwelling, shall I too, captive of a mother matchless in severity, sing of the flag—sing of the chariot—sing of the crown of Māṛan adorned with freshly picked flowers—sing of his necklace of pearls ?
>
> (*The girl addresses her companion.*) Bejewelled one, in my dreams I think I am awake, and my gaze meets his ; but when awake, my eyes drop in modesty. How then am I to find favour with Māṛan, my eyes being as fickle as this ?
>
> (*In this and the next stanza the girl again addresses her companion.*) If my life too is to be included among the lives on earth in his keeping, is it fair on the part of Ceḻiyan, famous for his just rule, to withhold from me the milk (of human kindness), extending to me only the water (of cold comfort) ?
>
> Eye without sight when dreaming, and when awake turned aside in modesty—bringing discredit to the just

rule of the Lord of Pukār, where the roaring waves in their fury shatter to pieces the ships crowding there.

(The girl says this to herself.) They say that Cenni Iḷavaḷavan is guardian of this earth. If indeed he be king of the earth, will he not spare me the harrowing sweetness of the soft melodies of the shepherds' flutes at sunset ?

Graceful stork with legs so red, should you reach Urantai in the south—I implore you, placing both hands on your feet—will you not tell the Lord of the fertile valley of the Kāviri, by whose banks shoals of fish sweep past, what I suffer on his account ?

(This and the next stanza are addressed to the girl's companion.) O thou bedecked with carefully chosen jewels, quite needlessly has my mother closed the only door in our house, not permitting me to see Kōdai, whose army is as vast as the sea. Even though she has closed it, has she sealed the mouths of those who speak of me in the same breath as they speak of him ?

Having gone to catch a glimpse of Kōdai, with his carefully chosen precious stones set in fine gold and his trailing garlands, I must needs close the door, though my thoughts go back again to him and yet again, before I tear myself away, my embarrassment being that of the poor man on his way to ask a favour of a man of great riches.

As a tailpiece, reference may be made to the effective use Parimēlaḷagar makes of *Mut.* 101 in support of his interpretation of *Kuṛaḷ* 576 as against that of the other commentators. As interpreted by him the couplet may be paraphrased : They are like trees rooted in the ground whose hearts do not go out in sympathy for others.

Bharati and Walt Whitman

V. SACHITHANANDAN

Subrahmaniya Bharati complains in his poetical autobiography (*Suya. Carithai*) that his father wished him well, but to his regret he was entered at an English school. One should not be misled into thinking that anything English was anathema to him. His literary tastes were wide and he was considerably influenced by English and American writers. One of them was Walt Whitman whose cosmic vision and conception of free verse have left a deep impress on the mind and poetry of Bharati.

Numerous references to the United States of America found in the essays of Subramanya Bharati cover various aspects of American life and letters. To Bharati, America was the wealthiest and most industrially advanced country in the world.[1] American civilization was strong enough to spread to other countries like the Philippines ;[2] America was keenly conscious of India's contribution to science and religion. Her Scientists admired Jagdeesh Chandra Bose for his pioneering work on the life of plants.[3] Earlier the common people of Europe and America had equated Indians with uncultured peoples, and looked down upon Indian civilization. Then some western scholars read in translations the immortal Indian scriptures and classics like the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*

Untermeyer refers to '*The Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*' edited by Louis Untermeyer (1949) and *Poetical Works* to '*The Poetical Works of Bharati*', Murasoli Publications (1956).

1 *Philosophy*, P. 86.

2 *Women*, P. 55.

3 *Philosophy*. P. 109.

and the *Panchatantra* and began to treat Indians as traditionally a very enlightened and civilised race.[4] Bharati upbraids his countrymen for their belated recognition of the great services of noble Indians like Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore after their triumphal progress through Europe and America.[5]

Three aspects of American life which appealed to Bharati most are the high position of women in American Society, a free and efficient press and American love of the Arts. A profound believer in the emancipation of Indian women, Bharati was never tired of drawing the attention of Indian society to the manner in which countries of the West, including America, treated women. In Europe and America women were allowed great freedom, and no earthquake destroyed those regions : [6] several countries, including America, had granted the franchise to women.[7] In many states of America women elected representatives to the senate. Influential statesmen like Mr. Woodrow Wilson and Mr. Hughes were working for extending the right of voting to women in other states and thus for bringing about complete equality between men and women throughout the country.[8]

Most of the essays of Subrahmanya Bharati were written by him when he was a journalist wielding his powerful pen against the armed might of the British Government in India. The Indian press was then in its infancy. Bharati was a trenchant critic who often incurred the displeasure of the Government. To escape its rage, he made abortive attempts to start many newspapers one after the other in different centres. When the alien rulers came down on him with a heavy hand, he escaped to Pondicheri from where he continued writ-

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4 *Women.* Pp. 41-42.
5 *Ibid.* P. 43.
6 *Ibid.* P. 32.
7 *Ibid.* P. 6.
8 *Society.* P. 206.

ing, until the end of his exile, fiery articles against the British. His sufferings at their hands as a fearless journalist and as a poet of spirited national songs made him envy the free American press. He regarded the free press as an indication of the high degree of national consciousness which a civilized country enjoys. He was sorry that the standard of journalism particularly in the Tamil state, was unenviable and he was ashamed of comparing it with that of the flourishing press in Europe and America. Though thirty years have passed since the press began functioning in this part of India, it has made no leeway. The unsympathetic Indian Government is partly responsible for this sad state of affairs.[9]

Bharati admired contemporary Americans for their love of the Arts. He noted that China and Japan were sending to America highly artistic drawings and paintings and winning much appreciation. There were highly skilled handicraftsmen in India who languished in their profession for want of patronage and capital, and he suggested that they could be encouraged to send their finished products to America for sale.[10] Bharati felt happy that Americans could appreciate Indian poets and musicians. English translations of the poems of three Bengali poets Srimatis Kamini Roy, Mana Kumari Devi and Ananga Mohini Devi, were published in an American journal with encomiastic comments.[11] A sculptor from Poona, Janab Baiji Hameen won considerable fame among the New York artists. At Columbia University Hameen delivered to a discriminating audience a fine lecture on the Ajanta cave paintings. His wife, who had written a book called "*The Music of India*", was quite a success when she lectured before a number of American women's clubs with suitable demonstrations. Incidentally Bharati took this as an indication of the high respect with

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9 *Arts*. Pp. 94-95.
10 *Society*. Pp. 134-135.
11 *Women*. P. 44.

which women, irrespective of their nationality, were treated in America.[12]

Some of the essays of Bharati[13] are shrewd political comments on the First World War. As a vernacular journalist who was interested in informing and educating his readers about the day to day progress of the World War, he could not escape commenting on the participation of the United States of America in the war and her policies framed according to the exigencies of the time. He critically examines the foreign policy of President Wilson who founded the League of Nations. He makes appreciative comments on the genuine efforts of the American Government to obtain independence for Ireland and Egypt.[14]

Bharati was aware of the colour problem in America. He appreciated the vigorous measures taken there to remove the blot from a progressive society. He was happy to note that the idea of equality was fast spreading among all sections of the American people.[15] He felt that compulsory free education would put an end to such evils.[16] He disapproved of the large scale extermination of the Red Indians by the early settlers, and the lynching of Negroes by their modern counterparts for their friendship with white women. The only remedy lay in the practical application of the concept of equality.[17]

Bharati believed that the Americans were highly susceptible to the influence of Hindu *dharma*. He drew this conclusion from his impressions of Swami Abedananda's lecture tour in Europe and America. Bharati believed with the distinguished disciple of Ramakrishna

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12 *Women.* P. 45.
13 See *Bharati Tamil.*
14 *Ibid.* Pp. 298 and 300
15 *Society.* P. 183.
16 *Ibid.* Pp. 184-185.
17 *Bharati Tamil.* Pp. 368 and 370.

Paramahamsa that industrialisation of a country and its resultant wealth are not conducive to human happiness ; Love of land and love of gold deprive man of spirituality, and his salvation lies only in following the vedantic doctrines.[18]

As a writer Bharati has an innate sense of humour. He is the author of a collection of delightful short stories in which his humour runs riot. One of them has an unforgettable character—an illiterate old villager. He spends his evenings in the village laundry where the owner of the laundry reads out every day to an enthralled audience the latest issue of a Tamil daily carrying exciting news of the World War. One day the news conscious old man condescends to enlighten his neighbour on the closing stages of the war. The rural historian's version in lively dialect difficult to translate into English, runs thus : " The German King was frantic for peace. Instead of approaching the English people, he appealed to America. It is a strange country where there is no king. But a school master has been chosen to act as king for four years. When the German King sued for peace the acting king retorted that he would talk of peace only after reducing him to ashes. What a school teacher ! "[19] President Woodrow Wilson, who was for some years Professor of Political Economy at Princeton, was reduced to the status of a school teacher by the native chronicler !

Three American writers seem to have left a mark on Bharati—Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman. Bharati may have been drawn to them because of their profound love of Hindu scriptures and philosophy. In his prose writings there are a few quotations from Emerson's *Essays* and Thoreau's *Walden.* A comparison between Emer-

18 *Ibid.* Pp. 19-22.
19 *The Stories of Bharati.* P. 33.

son and Bharati is inevitable as both have leaned heavily on the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* in their search for Ultimate Reality.

Before attempting to define the extent of Whitman's influence on Bharati, mention should be made of two little known American poetesses referred to in "*Bharati Tamil*". One of them is Miss Lisette Woodworth Reese whom readers of American poetry may remember as the authoress of the moving poem "Tears". The other cannot be called a poetess in the strict sense of the word as she seems to have left no poem of merit except one translated into Tamil by Bharati. She is Mrs. Maud Sherman of Detroit, Michigan, according to a short note prefixed to his translation by Bharati.[20]

A Japanese writer by name Noguchi wrote to the Editor of the Calcutta English monthly "*Modern Review*" explaining the characteristic features of the Japanese *hokku* (or *haiku*) and *tanka*.[21] This was translated into Tamil by Bharati and with appropriate comments published as an essay with the title *Japanese Poetry*.[22] In order to prove the superiority of Japanese poetry to its Western counterpart in brevity of expression and beauty of thought, Noguchi compares Miss Reese's "Rain" with a typical *haiku*. Bharati agrees with the contention of Noguchi that the *haiku* has no rival in the world of poetry.[23] But his brief criticism of the achievements of Miss Reese as a writer of poetry shows his genuine admiration of her artistic skill. "No superficial words,

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20 *Bharati Tamil*. P. 567.

21 *The hokku* consists of 17 syllables in 3 lines (575) and the *tanka* 31 syllables in 5 lines (57577). For an account of their importance in Japanese poetry see *Anthology of Japanese Literature* compiled and edited by Donald Kneene, p. 377. (UNESCO collection of Representative works).

22 *Bharati Tamil*. Pp. 150-155.

23 Some of the finest imagist poems in modern English poetry are conscious but not very successful imitations of Japanese metrical forms like the *hokku* and the *tanka*. See *The Trend of Modern Poetry* by Geoffery Bullough, p. 70.

no superficial thoughts — her verses are a string of pearls "[24] Twice in the course of the essay Bharati calls her a queen among poets.

It is a pity that we have no access to the poem of Mrs. Sherman on Mother India, translated into Tamil and published by Bharati in the columns of the *Swadesamitran*. The Tamil rendering is a fine piece of work. There are translations which create the pleasant illusion of an original work like Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*. There are others which are faithful to the original like Chapman's *Homer*. Matthew Arnold observes that a good translation is the result of the union of the translator with his original.[25] This is the impression one gets after reading Bharati's translation.

The poem is divided into two parts " Request " and " Reply ". The first part is an apostrophe to Mother India : " Thou art the Mother of all religions, all nations and all mankind. Thou gavest unto the world many men of divine birth. Deliver us from evil. Come unto us and grant us our prayer like your great sons in the past Krishna, Buddha and Rama. Give us this day a sage who can teach us the truth of justice ". In the second part, the prayer is granted and Gandhiji appears on the scene. The eloquent tribute paid to Gandhiji for services rendered to India and to the world occupies the rest of the poem.

Occasional pedantry in expression mars the otherwise smooth diction of the translation. " There is nothing inherently undesirable in highly literate terms, but the total effect must be considered in relation to intention and ideology ".[26] The metre of the translation is called in Tamil *ahaval* which is somewhat akin to blank verse.

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24 *Bharati Tamil*. P. 153.

25 'On Translating Homer' p. 251.—*Essays of Matthew Arnold* (Oxford University Press).

26 *Modern English and American Poetry*: Margaret Schlauch P. 32.

The extent of Whitman's influence on Bharati may be gauged from a study of his essay *Nagaram*[27] (City), which is really a critical estimate of the genius of the American poet and also of his own free verse in Tamil which he calls " Prose — Poetry " the first of its kind in the language. The city is Whitman's " great City " described in " Song of the Broad-Axe.[28] A brief summary of Bharati's essay on Whitman is given below : [29]

> " What is novel about the poetry of Walt Whitman is that it resembles prose in style. It is devoid of rhyme, alliteration and such poetic devices. Most poetical works belonging to the great languages of the world are in blank verse. Free verse is rare. Whitman believed that the meaning of poetry was in words, not in rhyme and therefore he wrote free verse, retaining only the rhythmic beauty of the language. In Europe he is considered equal to such great poets as Shakespeare, Milton, Dante and Goethe. Europeans treat him as one of the prophets of democracy. He is the most distinguished seer who fearlessly preaches the great truth that all are equal—men, women and children.
>
> " ' It is a single power that keeps the Universe alive. Therefore all are one. Give up fear. Do not harm your fellow creatures ; with this limitation you are free to act as you like. Fear no one but God '. This is the essence of Whitman's religious philosophy. He composed many poems based on the teaching of Christ that all men should love one another. Whitman, the prophet, imagines a city where men and women enjoy equal rights, where President, Mayor and Governor are servants of the citizens and where children are taught to look after themselves.
>
> " To-day in Europe and America statesmen are trying to make this imaginary city of Whitman a reality. Who will not love such a city ? "

Bharati was a *Vedantin* steeped in Hindu mystic lore. He translated into Tamil the *Samadhi Padam* of

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[27] *Society*. Pp. 224-226.
[28] Untermeyer. Pp. 216-217.
[29] Most of the essays of Bharati including the one under review were written between 1910 and 1920.

Patanjali Yogasutra and many *Rig Vedic* hymns and added his comments to both.[30] He wrote an illuminating introduction in Tamil to the *Bhagavad Gita.* He maintains that the Gita is more than a *dharma sastra*: it teaches the way to the attainment of *mukti* or salvation in this world itself by complete surrender to God.[31] Most of Bharati's views on man, on Nature and on Human life may be traced partly to Vedic literature and partly to the European thinkers of the eighteenth century. Emerson once called the *Leaves of Grass* a mixture of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *New York Herald.*[32] Describing his meeting with Whitman, Thoreau reported in a letter to Harrison Blake; "Wonderfully like the Orientals....considering that when I asked him if he had read them, he answered "No, tell me about them".[33] But in his old age Whitman refuted his own statement and admitted that he had read the ancient Hindu poems without specifying them. Modern research has discovered a *Vedantin* in Whitman.[34] "The object of the Vedanta is the apprehension of Brahman enshrined in *Sastra* and justified by reasoning and sense perception and the attainment of infinite bliss....The postulate of vedantic thought is the knowability of Brahman by means of intuitive insight afforded by the teaching of the guru....The Vedanta reveals the nature of Brahman as the supreme truth, beauty and goodness".[35] Prof. G. W. Allen in his definitive biography of Whitman says that the vedantic doctrines were "basic in Whitman's early notebooks."[36] Traces of them are found in many of his important poems like *Song of Myself, Calamus, Children of Adam* and *Passage to India.* It should be evident by now that Bharati and

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30 See the Works of Bharati (prose) (Bharati Publications, 1935).
31 *Ibid.* 'Introduction to the *Bhagavad Gita*' P. 44.
32 Quoted by Matthiessen: *American Renaissance.* P. 526.
33 Thoreau: *Letter to Harrison Blake* — Untermeyer. P. 966.
34 *The Solitary Singer* by G. W. Allen. P. 141.
35 *A Synthetic View of Vedanta* by T. N. Srinivasachari. P. 121.
36 *The Solitary Singer.* P. 141.

Whitman may have entertained identical views on many things.

In a spirited passage in the *Song on India*, Whitman addresses his soul :

> " Soundest below the Sanscrit and the Vedas ?
> Then have thy bent unleash'd ".

It is an eloquent commentary on the inner voyage undertaken by both Whitman and Bharati. At the end of the fascinating voyage they discover a spiritual democracy which seems to owe its existence to the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita.*

The idea of an unlimited personality and the concept of egalitarianism are the two cardinal principles which sustain the spiritual democracy of the two poets. The cosmic " I " of Whitman has often been identified with the Universal " I " of the *Bhagavad Gita.* Whitman's ego is, however, onesided.[37] His " I " sometimes represents the poet making a confession and sometimes man modern or universal. " When his words adhere to concrete experience and yet are bathed in imagination, his statements become broadly representative of humanity ".[38] Often it is " a personification of an animistic force, such as primitive minds before the dawn of history worshipped in the stallion, the bull, or some other god of fertility ".[39]

There are two ideas prominent in " Song of Myself ". The poet claims that he is of " every hue and caste " and of " every rank and religion ". There is universality in his words.[40]

> I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
> And what I assume, you shall assume,
> For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.

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37 *Walt Whitman: Poet of Democracy* by Hugh I. Fausset. P. 118.
38 Matthiessen. P. 526.
39 *The Solitary Singer.* P. 157.
40 *Major American Poets* ed. by Harry Hayden Clark (Notes on 'Song of Myself').

Whitman expresses profound faith in the concept of egalitarianism which embraces all objects animate and inanimate, and all experiences :

(1) I am of old, and young, of the foolish as much as the wise
Regardless of others, even regardful of others,
Maternal as well as paternal, a child as well as a man....

(2) I am the poet of the Body and I am the poet of the soul
The pleasures of heaven are with me and pains of hell are with me....

(3) I find I incorporate geniss, coal, long-threaded moss, fruits, grains esculent roots,
And I am stucco'd with quadrupeds and birds all over....

(4) I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment then,
In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in the glass.[41]

Bharati's ego, wherever it is expressed, is neither one-sided nor blatant. With him it is always a mystical experience of the union of the individual soul with the Universal Soul. When he is one with the Divine, he becomes one with the whole stream of life. There is no progression as in Whitman from love of self to love of God. Bharati like Whitman has given profound expression to his faith in the oneness of all things. The poem[42] நான் (I) may be compared with the egoistic utterances of Whitman in *Song of Myself*. The haunting refrain of the word 'நான்' reminds one of the oft-repeated personal and cosmic " I " of Whitman :

வானில் பறக்கின்ற புள்ளெலாம் நான்
    மண்ணில் திரியும் விலங்கெலாம் நான்
கானிழல் வளரும் மரமெலாம் நான்
    காற்றும் புனலும் கடலுமே நான்

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41 '*Song of Myself*'. Pp. 95-144. (Untermeyer)

42 *Poetical Works*. Pp. 231-233.

(" I am the birds that fly in the sky ; I am the beasts that wander on earth ; I am the trees that grow in the shade of the glade. I am Wind, Stream and Sea ") [43] In the last stanza of the poem Bharati transcends his ego and calls it an illusion of the greater " I " that pervades the universe :

நானெனும் பொய்யை நடத்துவோன் நான்
கானச்சுடர் வானில் செல்லுவோன் நான்
ஆனபொருள்கள் அனைத்தினும் ஒன்றாய்
அறிவாய் விளங்கு முதற்சோதி நான்.

To Whitman the " pleasures of heaven " and the " pains of hell " are the same. Bharati expresses a similar idea in the lines

இவ்விசை மாதரி சையுளேன் நான்
இன்பத் திரள்கள் அனைத்துமே நான்
புன்னிலை மாந்தர்தம் பொய்யெலாம் நான்
பொறையருந் துன்பப் புணர்ப்பெலாம் நான்.

The concept of spiritual equality is enshrined in the well-known lines

காக்கை குருவி எங்கள் ஜாதி—நீள்
கடலும் மலையும் எங்கள் கூட்டம். [44]

In one of his philosophical essays Bharati writes : 'Your soul and the soul of the universe are one. Yourself, myself, crocodile, tortoise, fly, eagle, donkey are animated by the same being and that is God '. According to the *Song of Myself*,

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43 (i) 'I am the taste in the waters . I am the light in the moon and the sun ... I am the sound in other and manhood in men'. '*The Bhagavad Gita* VII. 8. Translated and edited by Dr. Radhakrishnan (George Allen & Unwin, 1953). P. 215.

(ii) 'And entering the earth I support all beings by my vital energy and becoming the tapful soma (moon) I nourish all herbs or plants). *Ibid.* XV. 13. P. 331.

(iii) I am owner of the sphere
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Caesar's hand and Plato's brain,
Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakespeare's strain.
(Emerson's *History*)

44 *Poetical Works.* P. 219.

The sharp-hoof'd moose of the north, the cat on the house—still, the chickades, the prairie-dog,
The litter of the grunting sow as they tug at the teats,
The brood of the turkey-hen and she with her half-spread wings,
I see in them and myself the same old law.

According to the Gita 'Sages see with an equal eye, a learned and humble Brahmin, a cow, an elephant or even a dog or an outcaste.'[45] In this sense both Bharati and Whitman are sages.

In the spiritual democracy the body is treated with as much reverence as the soul. In fact the body, as an experience, becomes part of the soul. To Whitman "Not an inch, nor a particle of an inch is vile, and none shall be less familiar than the rest".[46] "If anything is sacred, the human body is sacred"[47] because it is of the soul. The "soul is not more than the body" and "the body is not more than the soul". Whitman "was the first to smash the old moral conception that the soul of man is something 'superior' and 'above' the flesh"[48]. This 'equalitarian inclusiveness' of Whitman is also found in Bharati. The Tamil poet was never tired of repeating that the body should be carefully nurtured and kept in good health because proper enjoyment of life through the senses, a gift of God, depended upon the body.[49] The body is as sacred as the soul, and according to Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, quoted by Bharati[50], "Those who practice *dharma* should carefully tend the body, It is the temple of the soul. The Divine is present in the body".

The spiritual democracy is really the inner world of the poet — a world of perceptions. What appears as

45 *The Bhagavad Gita* (Radhakrishnan), V. 18. P. 181.
46 Untermeyer. P. 1,120.
47 'I sing the Body Electric' P. 151. (Untermeyer)
48 D. H. Lawrence *Selected Literary Criticism* ed. by Anthony Beal. P. 178.
49 *Society*. P. 178.
50 *Arts*. P. 69.

ugly and unseemly in the outer world becomes beautiful there. " A thing of beauty is a joy for ever " and " the human face divine " really belong to the higher world of the poet where inequalities do not exist. Whitman's *Faces* incorporates this idea :

> Sauntering the pavement thus, or crossing the ceaseless
> Ferry, faces and faces and faces,
> I see them and complain not, and am content with all.

To Bharati the faces of wandering beggars are marvellously beautiful and they remind him of the dusty faces of idols.[51]

Universality of love is a great spiritual force in Whitman's democracy. It is evident in his passionate attachment to Nature. " There never was a poet who, more passionately than Whitman, found in Nature a companion, a friend, a lover with whom he constantly enacts the great mystery of love ; losing himself in the Beloved only to find that the Beloved is one with himself, and that both in their oneness with each other discover themselves as partaking of a unity beyond themselves. ".[52] Many lines in ' Song of Myself ' bear witness to the universal love of the poet : " A kelson of creation is love ". " And whoever walks a furlong without sympathy walks to his own funeral drest in his shroud ". The inhabitants of the ' great city ' which is the capital of the new democracy are filled with love— " knitting, enclosing, all-diffusing love ". ' Like a light it silently wraps all '. *Leaves of Grass* records the steady progression of the poet's love, from a passionate identification with life to death and from death to immortality.[53] It is a remarkable transition from *Song of Myself* to *Passage to India.*

51 *Bharati Tamil.* P. 247.

52 *Walt Whitman*: John Bailey. P. 55.

53 Floyd Stovall quoted by Harry Hayden Clark — *Major American Poets.*

No such steady growth of love can be traced in the poems of Bharati because spiritual maturity came to him quite early in life from his deep devotion to the Vedic doctrines and also to the teachings of the Buddha. The poem '*முரசு*' (Drum) announces to the world that love unites all and brings freedom to all :

1. *அன்பென்று கொட்டு முரசே—மக்கள்*
   அத்தனை பேரும் நிகராம்
   இன்பங்கள் யாவும் பெருகும்—இங்கு
   யாவரும் ஒன்றென்று கொண்டால்.
2. *அன்பென்று கொட்டு முரசே—அதில்*
   யார்க்கும் விடுதலை உண்டு.

Love treats as equal mother and child, educated and uneducated, man and God.[54].

In his own country and abroad Whitman is regarded as the poet of American nationalism. In his early writings he sounds jingoistic. Gradually chauvinism becomes enlightened nationalism with strong tendencies towards internationalism.[55] In his 1885 Preface to the *Leaves of Grass* the confident chauvinist writes: 'The American poets are to enclose old and new ; for America is the race of races. Of them a bard is to be commensurate with the people. To him the other continents arrive as contributions ... he incarnates its geography and natural life and rivers and lakes'. As a recent critic has pointed out, *Leaves of Grass* is the meeting place of a highly self-conscious poet and a highly self-conscious nation.[56] In *Birds of Passage* Whitman's nationalism sounds blatant

> "The measur' faith of other lands, the grandeurs of the past,
> Are not for thee, but grandeurs of thine own,
> Deific faiths and amplitudes, absorbing, comprehending all,
> All eligible to all."

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54 *Bharati Tamil.* 195.

55 Floyd Stovall quoted by Harry Hayden Clark — *Major American Poets.*

56 *Walt Whitman Ego in New Eden*: Ernest Sandeen. P. 244. In *American Classics Reconsidered* ed. by Harold C. Gardiner.

The same arrogant note is sounded in *By Blue Ontario's Shore*;

> " Ages, precedents, have long been accumulating undirected
> materials,
> America brings builders, and brings its own styles."

But there had always been an element of conservatism in Whitman and as he became mellow with the passage of time, he returned to the mysterious past which he had rejected earlier. He came to recognize the religious element at the core of the democracy he conceived.[57] America should receive the accumulated wisdom of the past from the oldest civilizations and build a comprehensive new world. The poet envisages such a future in *Passage to India*:

> I see O year in you the vast terraqueous globe given and
> giving all,
> Europe to Asia, Africa join'd and they to the New World,
> The lands, geographies, dancing before you, holding a
> festival garland,
> As brides and bridegrooms hand in hand.

Commenting on the wide popularity enjoyed by Bharati as poet of Indian nationalism, his biographer in English writes :

> " His songs in praise of our motherland are on the lips of everyone. Boys and girls at school, their elders at home, gentle and simple, the learned and the illiterate, all have made the soul-stirring strains of his poetry a part of their own emotional equipment '.[58]

Bharati's patriotic poems were all composed when India was groaning under the British yoke, and therefore they are full of fire. His partiotism not only becomes ' a religion, but the religious impulse is given a mystic orientation '.[59] To Bharati India is the Supreme Mother,

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57 *Democratic vistas.* P. 823. (Untermeyer).
58 *Subramanya Bharati*: *A Memoir.* P. Mahadevan, P. 1.
59 *Ibid.* P. 145.

Bharata Mata, Shakti. One may be tempted to compare poems like 'Bharata Nadu' and 'Bharata Mata' with Whitman's 'By Blue Ontario's Shore' which trumpets to the world his passionate love of America. The American poet identifies his life with the life of the nation so much that his 'I' represents all the people of his country :

> A Nation announcing itself,
> I myself make the only growth by which I can be appreciated,
> I reject none, accept all, reproduce all in my own forms.

When Bharati sings

> *பாருக்குள்ளே நல்ல நாடு—எங்கள்*
> *பாரத நாடு.* [60]

it is not an arrogant display of patriotism, but the genuine pride of the poet in the glorious past of his country. The very word 'Bharat' is evocative of rich memories. To Bharati the achievements of our saints, seers, heroes and poets are not the triumphs of great individuals but of Bharata Mata herself. It was the great Mother (not the Rishis) who wrote in the Vedas that we are the children of the same God and the world is a well of pleasure :

> ஒன்றே பரம்பொருள், நாம் அதன்மக்கள்
> உலகின்பக் கேணி என்றே மிக
> நன்று பல்வேதம் வரைந்ததை பாரத
> நாயகிதன் திருக்கை.

There are striking similarities between Whitman and Bharati as poets of nationalism. Whitman believed in national unity and as a Unionist he desired to "sing the idea of all" and then to sing the "song of each member of the States". This idea of unity in diversity is ex-

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60 *Poetical Works.* P. 11.

pressed in 'From Paumanok Starting I Fly like a Bird '[61] :

From Paumanok I Fly like a bird
. . . .
To the north betaking myself to sing there arctic songs
. . . .
To Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, to sing their songs......
Then to Ohio and Indiana to sing theirs, to Missouri and
    Kansas and Arkansas to sing theirs,
To Tennessey and Kentucky, to the Carolinas and Georgia
    to sing theirs,
To Texas and so along up toward California to roam
    accepted everywhere ......

In a lyrical outburst Bharati sings of the unity of India :

சிந்து நதியின் மிசைநில வினிலே
    சேரநன் னாட்டிளம் பெண்க ளுடனே,
சுந்தரத் தெலுங்கினில் பாட்டி சைத்துத்
    தோணிக ளோட்டி விளையாடி வருவோம்.

கங்கைப் புரத்துக் கோதுமைப் பண்டம்
    காவிரி வெற்றிலைக்கு மாறுகொள் குவோம்
சிங்க மராட்டியர் தம் கவிதை கொண்டு
    சேரத்துத் தந்தங்கள் பரிசளிப் போம்.[62]

The poet's imagination spans India from East to West and from South to North and brings together whatever is between them. This imaginative apprehension of the mystical union of India lies embedded in the subconscious self of every Indian. In his magnificent epilogue to the 'Discovery of India' Nehru writes "The Discovery of India — What have I discovered ? ... To-day she is four hundred million separate individual men and women, each differing from the other, each living in a private universe of thought and feeling ... Yet something has bound them together and binds them still. India is a geographical and economic entity, a cultural unity amidst diversity, a bundle of contradic-

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61 See also *Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood.*
62 *Poetical Works.* P. 6.

tions held together by strong but invisible threads". The patriotic poems of the two poets under discussion express in eloquent terms the imperative need for national unity in a period of stress and strain a lesson whch Shakespeare taught his countrymen in his Historical plays.[63]

One of the most popular poems of Bharati on the national flag [64] is strangely reminscent of Whitman's *Song of the Banner at Daybreak* [65] The poems took shape in a period of conflict and tension in the history of the two countries — India fighting her English rulers under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and America facing the severest test of her unity under the wise but firm guidance of Abraham Lincoln. Whitman's banner (and pennant) and Bharati's flag symbolize the united defiance of a nation against a serious threat to freedom. The pennant 'shaped like a sword' indicates 'war and defiance' and so the 'starry banner' 'broad and blue' flapping in the wind. They discard 'peace over all the sea and land'. India's national flag bearing the fearful weapon of Indra and the crescent moon of the Muslims flashes like lightning in the sky. The banner and pennant are not 'mere strips of cloth profiting nothing, only flapping in the wind'. They bring to the ears of the poet shouts of war and the music of peace :

I hear the tramp of armies, I hear the challenging Sentry,
I hear the jubilant shouts of millions of men, I hear liberty :

....

I see numberless farms, I see farmers working in their fields or barns,
I see the stores, depots, of Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, New Orleans,
I see far in the West the immense area of grain......[66]

63 *English poets and the National Ideal*: E. de Selincourt. P. 20.
64 *Poetical Works*. Pp. 22-24.
65 *Song of the Banner at Daybreak*. Pp. 288-293.
66 See stanzas 6-9.

In short Whitman sees in the banner and pennant ' the Identity formed out of thirty-eight spacious and haughty states ... " To Bharati the national flag is not just ' a piece of silk ' fluttering in the world. It brings no vision of peace to him as there is no peace without freedom. The flag crystallises the united opposition of thirty million people against a common tyrant. It is this unity that gives strength to the flag that can fly unconcerned when a fierce whirlwind sweeps round it :

பட்டுத் துகிலென லாமோ ?—அதில்
 பாய்ந்து சுழற்றும் பெரும்புயல் காற்று
மட்டுமிகுந் தடித்தாலும்—அதை
 மதியாதவ் வுறுதிகொள் மாணிக்கப் படலம்.

Bharati sees armies of heroic men tramping from different parts of India and gathering under the flag to fight unto death — brave Tamilians, fierce Maravas, daring Telugus, death-defying Maharattas, doughty Rajputs, patriotic Bengalis and a host of other brave Indians :

கம்பத்தின் கீழ்நிற்றல் காணீர்—எங்கும்
 காணரும் வீரர் பெருந்திருக் கூட்டம்
நம்பற்குரிய அவ்வீரர்—தங்கள்
 நல்லுயிர் ஈந்தும் கொடியினைக் காப்பார்.

Swami Suddhananda Bharati in his two enthusiastic studies in Bharati [67] has quoted some well-known passages from *Leaves of Grass* and drawn an interesting comparison between the two poets' exalted treatment of woman. As social equality of men and women is an accomplished fact in the West, critics of Whitman have not taken cognizance of his profoundly sympathetic attitude to women. It is also probable that sensitive critics may have beaten a hasty retreat after reading, such poems as *A Woman Waits For Me*. Bharati is a poet of refined sensibility and Indian women, for long the special inferiors of men, find in him a great and doughty champion. How much importance Bharati

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67 *Bharati Vilakkam*. P. 53. *Kavikuyil Bharati*. P. 166.

attached to women may be understood from the fact that of the four major divisions of his essays, one is entirely devoted to women. Both Whitman and Bharati treat women with reverence. 'I say there is nothing greater than the mother' is a characteristic statement of Whitman from *Song of Myself.* To Bharati 'there is no deity greater than the mother'[68] and woman is an incarnation of Shakti.[69] Both poets speak with great vehemence of the perfect equality of men and women which had divine sanction. In the 'great city' which had 'the greatest men and women', the latter 'walk in public processions in the streets the same as the men' and 'they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men'. Bharati believed that the material and moral prosperity of the world depended upon the perfect equality of the sexes.[70] His treatment of women is more exalted than that of Whitman and somewhat mystical probably because of his belief in the Shakti cult and his reading of Shelley.

Bharati's prose-poetry (*Vachana Kavithaigal*) is a mixture of the Vēdas and Whitman. The thought content of his *vers libre* is mostly drawn from the Vēdic scriptures and the verses are modelled on the Vedic chant and the free verse of Whitman. Bharati's absorbing interest in Whitman can be deduced from his essay (City) in which he discusses the American poet's free verse. /It is safe to assume that the primary inspiration for writing free verse in Tamil—Bharati was the first to attempt it in the language — may have come from Tagore who popularised prose-poetry in English by his free rendering of *Gitañjali.* But the impact of Whitman's poetry on the metrical structure of the Tamil verse can hardly be overlooked.

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68 Poetical Autobiography — *Poetical Works* P. 337

69 'The New Women' — *Poetical Works* P 259

70 'The New Women' — *Pengal Viduthalai Kummi* — *Poetical Works* P. 261.

Whitman's prejudices as a democrat made him consider metre as feudal, European and outdated.[71] He admitted that there were poets 'whose shapes the mantle of such verse has beautifully and appropriately envelope.' But modern poetry is written not to be sung aloud but to be read silently. He was sure that the time was ripe for abolishing all distinctions between prose and poetry. The serious limitations of orthodox poetry would prevent it from handling great modern subjects of democracy and science. His duty as a poet was to "take hold of muscular democratic virilities without wincing and put them into verse" and the new medium for him was free verse. In his enthusiasm Whitman sometimes went to the extent of making his poetry and prose interchangeable. Occasionally Whitman treated what he wrote as both prose and poetry. Lines from *By Blue Ontario's Shore* appear as prose in his introduction to *Leaves of Grass.* If he failed as a poet — to some extent he did fail — it was because of his misconception that a poet should observe things with the eyes of the man in the street and speak his language. But by his bold experiments Whitman did a great service to American poetry. He released it from its slavish adherence to certain popular English metres. That work accomplished there was a new poetry in America".[72]

Whitman once called the Leaves "a language experiment". Throughout his life he was engaged, though intermittently, in devising for America a language of its own. He felt that language was not the creation of scholars. It was shaped "out of the work, needs, ties, joys, effections, tastes of long generations of humanity".[73] According to him the best language "has its bases broad and low, close to the ground. Its final decisions are made by the masses".[74] Emerson who anti-

[71] *Walt Whitman*: Bailey. P. 69.
[72] Emery Holloway quoted by Bailey. *Ibid.* P. 96.
[73] 'Slang in America' Untermeyer. P. 564.
[74] Untermeyer's Introduction. Pp. 56-57.

cipated Whitman in theory though not in practice, to some extent, observed : " How superior in force is the language of the street to that of the academy. The speech of the man in the street is invariably strong nor can you mend it by making it what you call parliamentary ". Whitman believed that the American democracy was a fertile ground for the English language to grow greater and more potential. There is a strain of idealism in his conception of language : " All words are spiritual — nothing is more spiritual than words ".[75]

A careful study of the prose-poetry of Bharati has shown certain interesting results. He had employed about a dozen metrical devices. Some of them like parallelism, initial reiteration and catalogue of names have been widely made use of by Whitman. Others belong to the hoary tradition of Tamil poetry.

Parallelism is a well-known Biblical device which is also found in many religious scriptures of the world including the Vedas. A typical passage from the Bible reads :

' And God said, let there be light : and there was light.
And God saw the light, that *it was* good ; and God divided
    the light from the darkness,
And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called
    Night,
And the evening and the morning were the first day '.

In the *Rig-Veda*, Indra, the Rain-Giver is praised :

' When light was poisoned by dark gloom,
'Twas Indra won her from its womb.
When rain was poisoned by the cloud,
'Twas Indra slew the demon proud '.

' The Song of the Open Road ' contains many fine examples of Whitman's use of parallelism as a prosodic device :[76]

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[75] *An American Primer*, Untermeyer. P. 569.

[76] *Lays of Ancient India : Selections from Indian Poetry* — Rendered into English verse by Romesh Chunder Dutt. Kegan Paul. 1894. P. 6

The earth never tires,
The earth is rude, Silent, incomprehensible at first,
Nature is rude and incomprehensible at first,
I swear to you there are divine things more beautiful than
words can tell.

A good illustration of Bharati's use of parallelism is

படைப்பு நமது கண்ணுக்குத் தெரியாது ; அறிவுக்குத் தெரியாது
சாவு நமது கண்ணுக்குத் தெரியும், அறிவுக்குத் தெரியாது
வாழ்க்கை நமது கண்ணுக்குத் தெரியும், அறிவுக்குத் தெரியும்.[77]

Bharati's works in prose and verse reveal his intimate knowledge of the Bible. He interprets the word as *Shakti* and God as *Parama Purusha* and they are one.[78] One of his 'Divine Songs' is on Jesus Christ in which Bharati stresses the need to practise Humility, Love and Truth — lessons which the life of the Saviour teaches us [78a]. In his essays he often quotes from parables of Jesus to reinforce his arguments. Bharati was possibly aware of the use of parallelism in the Bible and in the Vedas. But as Whitman served as a model for him in free verse-writing, he may have taken a hint from the American poet that parallelism could be successfully used as a prosodic device.

Following the Bible, Whitman used what G. W. Allen calls 'envelop' i.e. parallelism in expressing similar ideas.[79] A typical example is *Miracles* which structurally contains two 'envelopes'. A general idea is stated in 1. 2. "As to me I know nothing else but miracles' and it is followed by parallel illustrations (11. 3-14). In lines 15 and 16 the first idea in 1. 2. is reiterated. The second half of the poem has the same pattern repeated. Bharati seems to have employed a similar device in the first section of his prose-poetry.[80]

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77 *Poetical Works*—'Vachana Kavithai'—Sakti 8.
78 *Bharati's Works* (Prose). The Poetry of the Vedic Rishis. P. 36.
78a *Poetical Works*. P. 214.
79 Quoted by Harry Hayden Clark: *Major American Poets*. See notes on "Miracles".
80 *Poetical Works*—"Vachana Kavithai". P. 346.

Line 1 of stanza 4 states 'This universe in one'. Lines 2 to 14 give five groups of parallel illustrations. Structurally the stanza is composed of five 'envelopes'. In the last five lines the initial idea is repeated and elaborated.

One of the characteristic metrical devices in Whitman's poetry is initial reiteration.[81]

(1) Out of the cradle endlessly rocking,
Out of the mocking bird's throat, the musical shuttle,
Out of the Ninth month midnight...... [82]

(2) Here is not merely a nation but a teaming Nation of Nations,
Here is what moves in magnificent masses careless of particulars,
Here are the roughs, beards, friendliness, combativeness, the soul loves ....[83]

Bharati has widely employed this prosodic device :

1. நமது விழிகளிலே மின்னல் பிறந்திடுக
நமது நெஞ்சினிலே மின்னல் விசிறிப்பாய்க
நமது வலக்கையிலே மின்னல் தோன்றுக
நமது பாட்டு மின்னலுடைத் தாகுக
நமது வாக்கு மின்போல் அடித்திடுக.[84]

2. சக்தி வெள்ளத்திலே ஞாயிறு ஓர்குமிழாம்
சக்திப் பொய்கையிலே ஞாயிறு ஒருமலர்
சக்தி அநந்தம் எல்லையற்றது, முடிவற்றது. [85]

3. அவன்வரும் வழியை நன்றாகத்துடைத்து நல்லநீர்
தெளித்து வைத்திடுவோம்
அவன்வரும் வழியிலே கர்ப்பூரம் முதலிய நறும் பொருள்
களைக் கொளுத்திவைப்போம்
அவன் நல்ல மருந்தாக வருக,
அவன் நமக்கு உயிராகி வருக.[86]

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81 G. W. Allen quoted by Harry Hayden Clark: *Major American Poets*. See notes on 'Out of the Cradle endlessly Rocking'.
82 Untermeyer. P. 262.
83 'By Blue Ontario's Shore'. Untermeyer. P. 330.
84 *Poetical Works*: 'Vachana Kavithai'—Sun. 13.
85 *Ibid*: Shakti. 1.
86 *Ibid*: Wind. 8.

Initial reiteration is something new to Tamil poetry. There are no traces of it in Vedic literature except in occasional passages in the *Rig Veda* :

(1) Agnim ile purah — hitam yajnasya devam retvijam hotaram ratna — dhatamam.
(2) Agnih purvebhi reshi — bhih idayah nutansihuta sah devan a iha vakshate.
(3) Agnina rayim asnavat posham eva dive-dive yasasam viravat-tamam.[87]

(1) *Vayo á yahi darsata ime somah aram* — *kritah tesham* pahi srudhi havam.
(2) Vayo ukthebhih jarante tvam achha jaritarah suta-somah ahah — vidah.
(3) Vayo tava pra — princhati dhana jigati dasushe urichi soma — pitaye[88].

The basis of vedic metre is the syllable. The metrical unit is the *foot* (pada) or quarter or verse or line consisting of five to 12 syllables. The verse is regulated by quantitative rhythm generally iambic. *The rhythm of the later part of the verse is more strictly regulated than the earlier part.*[89] It follows that initial reiteration is not a recognized device in the Vedas. Bharati's wide use of it inevitably takes us back to Whitman.

Whitman's catalogue of names[90] has won for him a certain notoriety, thanks to the unkind utterances of critics like Emerson who says : " I expect him to make the Songs of the Nation but he seems contented to make the inventories ". To Bailey the catalogue is no better than a " geographical exercise-book ".[91] But it was " the means by which Whitman tried to accommodate the

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87 Rig Veda Mandala I Suktal
88 *Ibid*: Mandala II Suktai.
89 '*A Vedic Grammar for Students*: Arthur A. Macdonell (1955). P. 436.
90 See *Song of Myself* (15, 16 and 33) starting from 'Paumanok and Salut Aumonde.'
91 *Walt Whitman*: Bailey. P. 99.

Emersonian paradox the universality of the concrete, individual self".[92] It is also a pictorial survey of the America Whitman knew. Bharati's prose-poetry has a few impressive catalogues of names all found in the first section on happiness :[93]

மனம் தெய்வம், சித்தம் தெய்வம், உயிர் தெய்வம்
காடு, மலை, அருவி, ஆறு.
கடல், நிலம், நீர், காற்று, தீ, வான்.
ஞாயிறு திங்கள் வானத்துச்சுடர்கள்—எல்லாம் தெய்வங்கள்.
உலோகங்கள், மரங்கள், ஊர்வன நீந்துவன
மனிதர்—இவை அமுதங்கள்.[93]

The names are from the seen and the unseen worlds and they illustrate a profound truth, — unity in diversity, the one in many.

Rhetorical device is used by both Whitman and Bharati with extraordinary effect. The latter was an accomplished speaker whose impact is felt in many lines. Rhetorical passages in prose-poetry sound more effective and startling than those in the leaves as they express the burning curiosity of the poet to penerate into the vital secrets of Nature. Bharati's address to the Sun is full of rich associations :

ஞாயிறே, இருளை என்னசெய்து விட்டாய்?
ஓட்டினாயா? கொன்றாயா? விழுங்கிவிட்டாயா?
கட்டி முத்தமிட்டு நன்கதிரிகளாகிய கைகளால் மறைத்து
விட்டாயா?

இருள் நினக்குப் பகையா?
இருள் நின் உணவுப் பொருளா?
....................அதுநின் காதலியா?
....
உங்களுக்கு மரணமில்லையா? நீங்கள் அமுதமா?[94]

Here is a short poem of Whitman which (not the disturbing sentiment but the spirit) will strongly appeal

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92 *Walt Whitman*: Ernest Sandeen in *American Classics Reconsidered* ed. by Harold C. Gardiner. P. 233.
93 *Poetical Works* 'Vachana Kavithai'. Pp. 345-346.
94 *Ibid.* 'Vachana Kavithai'. Sun. 5.

to us Indians, particularly the last line which suddenly illuminates the whole piece.[95]

Are you the new person drawn toward me ?
To begin with take warning, I am surely far different from what you suppose :
Do you suppose you will find in me your ideal ?
Do you think it is so easy to have me become your lover ?
Do you think the friendship of me would be unalloy'd satisfaction ?
Do you think I am trusty and faithful ?
Do you see no further than this facade, this smooth and tolerant manner of me ?
Do you suppose yourself advancing on real ground toward a real heroic man ?
Have you no thought O dreamer that it may be all maya, illusion ?

CONCLUSION

Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman ' travelled ' through ' Hindustan ' and ' the vales of Kashmere ' in their quest for truth. Now Bharati has returned the compliment by seeing their guidance in a similar quest. The mutual influence of American and Indian literatures thus fulfils Whitman's dream : ' I see that this world of the West, as part of all, fuses inseparably with the East, and with all, as time does — the ever new, yet old, old human race — " the same subject continued ", as the novels of our grandfathers had it for chapter—heads'.[96]

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95 Untermeyer. P. 167. See also ' Song of the Open Road '. P. 188.
96 *Poetry To-day in America* — Untermeyer. P. 552.

Trade and Agricultural Economy of the Tamils of Jaffna during the latter half of the Seventeenth Century

S. ARASARATNAM

The Kingdom of Jaffna, comprising the Tamil-speaking areas of north Ceylon, lost its independence to the Portuguese in 1619. Some years later, in 1658, the Dutch East India Company wrested these lands from the Portuguese and ruled them as part of their maritime possessions in the East. Because of the factors that promoted its identity from the rest of the island, this entire territory was administered as a separate unit both by the Portuguese and now the Dutch. Both these powers found Jaffna a very valuable source of revenue derived from various avenues. A settled and peaceful agricultural community had worked industriously on their farms for generations with a fair degree of prosperity. This contrasted with the southern and south western parts of the island where there had been in the past few centuries considerable political unrest and shifting of settlements and towns. Trade, land revenues and taxes yielded ample benefits to the sovereign who ruled over these areas.

Under the Dutch, Jaffna was one of three administrative units in the island, the others being Colombo and Galle. In the 1660s Jaffna, barring climatic calamities, was self-sufficient in rice and yielded enough to feed the Dutch personnel living there. There was a brisk trade

carried on in elephants, arecanut, cloth, palmyrah, wood, choir ropes and tobacco, producing general prosperity. Because of this trade, there was more money in circulation in Jaffna, and this was reflected in a general rise in price of commodities. Within 10 years, paddy had risen to twice its former price. Though new land was reclaimed from the salty marshes and sold to the community, land prices too rose steeply. This activity was reflected in the net income that this province gave to the Dutch. For a period of twenty years from 1660 the total revenue fluctuated between 200,000 and 300,000 Dutch Guilders[1], which was about a third of the total income of Ceylon and the Southern Indian factories. Of the three provinces, Colombo and Galle had continuous deficits in their budgets. Only Jaffna produced annual surpluses of between 100,000 and 200,000 Dutch guilders.[2] The province of Jaffna was therefore looked upon by the Dutch as a valuable possession and every effort was made to increase its productivity and revenue.

One side of this policy was the intensive pursuit of agricultural development and trade. Lands which had been abandoned to jungle were cleared and sold to Dutch officials and private citizens. The salt waters of the lagoon had made inroads into a considerable area of land. These were now reclaimed by the construction of dams and by drainage, a method in which the Dutch had achieved great expertacy. Trade was promoted by the encourgement of merchants from all parts of India. The weaving, painting and dyeing of cloth was undertaken in various parts of Jaffna and Mannar. By these means the fruits of the land were increased and thereby the income of the Dutch Government augmented. The other means to increase revenue was to effect improve-

[1] The exchange rate of the Guilder in this period was as follows: 1 Guilder = 1sh. 10d. = 5/6 Indian Rupee.

[2] This information is derived from scattered references in contemporary Dutch records.

ments in the assessment and collection of land rents and taxes and the performance of obligatory services. A sovereign is entitled to some taxes and dues that are customarily payable by his subjects in return for the protection he affords them and the overlordship he claims over them. These may take the form of cash, kind or services. The nature of the relationship between the subject, his land and his sovereign was regulated by custom and somewhat complicated. The problem of understanding this relationship with a view to deriving the fullest benefits from it was particularly difficult when the sovereign was a foreign power.

Naturally, the Dutch sought to grapple with this problem from the outset. They soon realised that the traditional social structure and the methods of assessment and collection of revenue in the Jaffna provinces were far different from those prevalent in the south. The high sums of money already being collected and the good prospects for the future made the Dutch determined to go deeper into the problem of land revenue in Jaffna before they concerned themselves with similar problems in the south of the island. It may also be made as a general observation that the problems connected with the collection of land revenue in Jaffna were not as obscure as those in Sinhalese areas. The old system, as it existed in the age of large and prosperous kingdoms, had been retained to a large extent whereas in the south the disintegration of these prosperous settlements led to the growth of a complicated system of service tenure.[3]

There were two broad groups of taxes — those levied on persons and those levied on land. Of the taxes levied on persons, the one that was general and equal in its incidence on all persons was the poll-tax. It was

[3] H. W. Codington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon.* (Colombo 1938) pp. 50 ff.

levied on all earning members of the family. Only the old and infirm were exempt from it. In the 17th century it varied between two and six fanams[4a] per person per year, the level being fixed according to the fluctuation of prices in the land. In order to ensure the collection of all the money due as poll tax, it was essential that full and up-to-date lists be kept of all able bodied males in a village. Belonging to the same category of direct taxes but more restricted in its incidence was the tax known by the Dutch as *officie-geld*. It was a sort of profession tax, paid by members of castes that earned their livelihood by trade or any handicraft. It varied, according to the productivity of the particular trade, between two and eight fanams per year. In case where a caste group worked together, such as weavers or painters of cloth, it could be levied on the group as a whole. Even more restricted than the *officie-geld* was the *Adikary* money paid by every adult male member of the *Vellale, Chandar* and *Tanakkarar* castes. It was a tax that had been levied in the time of the kings of Jaffna when the country was administered by Adigars. The tax was intended for the Adigar's subsistence and amounted to a fanam per person per year. This was continued by the Portuguese and taken over by the Dutch. It was considered an honour to pay this levy and these three castes considered themselves among the oldest and most influential. Lastly, among the personal taxes may be counted the *uliyam*, an enforced labour obligation of one day each month. It was a kind of supplement to the *officie-geld* because this obligation fell on those who did not come under that artisan tax. It was generally performed at a stretch for twelve days an year. The upper and better-off castes paid a sum of money in lieu of service, while the others were put to work on construction works such as fortifications and roads, and the loading and unloading of ships at the wharfs. The money payable per

[4a] A fanam was worth about ¼ Guilder

non-attendance was 2 stuivers[4b] a day or one Rix Dollar for the entire period of twelve days in an year.[5]

Regarding taxes on the land, there is no precise information. The most important of these was the rent on paddy lands, these being the most abundant. This rent varied according to the productivity of the land and from region to region. Another tax on paddy was the tithe which was a share of the harvest payable to the state. By the period of Dutch occupation, this had become a fixed annual payment. In the Jaffna peninsula it was paid in cash, while in the Vanni and Mannar it was still collected in paddy. Next is the tax on gardens (*tōddam*) that were cultivated round the house, with the use of water irrigated from a well. Finally, there was a tax on trees within the compound adjoining the house — palmyrah, coconut and all other fruit-bearing trees.[6]

A detailed table of the amount collected under each of these above heads would show the relative importance of the taxes. These are available for the financial year 1695-6 and are as follows :[7]

Rent from lands, trees and gardens	..	40,870	Dutch Guilders
Tithes	.. ..	21,580	-do-
Poll Tax	.. ..	14,995	-do-
Officie Geld	.. ..	2,162	-do-
Adigary Tax	... ..	2,945	-do-
Total	..	82,552	do-

4b 20 Stuivers = 1 Guilder.

5 Evidence for these facts to be found in: *Instructions from Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1656 to 1665*, transl. Sophia Pieters (Colombo, 1908) M 83-124; *Memoir left by Ryclof van Goens Jr. to his successor, Laurens Pyl*, trans. Sophia Pieters (Colombo, 1910) pp. 17-33; *Memoir of Thomas van Rhee to his successor Gerrit de Heere*, 1697. transl. Sophia Anthonisz (Colombo, 1915) pp. 6-12; *Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon, Commander of Jaffna*, 1697, transl. Sophia Pieters (Colombo, 1911) pp. 20-24.

6 *Memoir of Zwaardecroon*. Pp. 17-20.

7 *Ibid*. P. 16.

It is clear from this description of the system of taxes and rents prevalent among the Tamils of Jaffna that there was a great degree of direct confrontation between the State and the citizen. This is in contrast with the position as found in the South, where a considerable amount of subinfeudation had taken place, thus taking the tenant some degrees remote from the State and creating a tiered structure of services and obligations. Here in Jaffna the major problems of revenue collection were those of enumeration and registration. Thus the tombo assumed importance as a vital document in the assessment and collection of inland revenue. The tombo—a Portuguese word obtained by the Dutch and current till the 19th century — was a register of persons, lands and taxes. In the manner in which it operated in the 17th and 18th centuries in Ceylon, it was a means of recording statistics of population and of lands held and cultivated. The scope and intent of a tombo were defined clearly by Governor Schreuder (1762) : It consists of a Head and Land Register of all persons and their holdings in the country, in which each Province and District are shown separately and where we can see at the first glance how considerable and extensive the Company's territories are, what number of inhabitants reside therein, what services they are under obligation to perform for the Company, what maintenance and privileges they derive thereby, what dues the inhabitants must render to the Company as lord of the land both from their gardens and fields, what and how many uncultivated lands there are still to be found in the *Korles* and Districts which are suitable for converting into gardens and fields and with what right of ownership and under what categories the inhabitants possess their lands, according to which the farmers of these dues recover them yearly from the inhabitants ".[8] It must be remem-

[8] *Memoir of Jan Schreuder* 1757-1762 transl E. Reimers (Colombo, 1946) P 61

bered, however, that this was perfected after over a century's experience in civil administration. In the 17th century, the tombo, though important, is still in its rudimentary stages as a tool of revenue administration.

It seems then that the tombo had two parts : a head tombo and a land tombo. The head tombo registered the names of every inhabitant in the village together with all personal dues that were payable by him. It had to be revised constantly and kept up-to-date. The land tombo registered every plot of land in the village. It had necessarily to be a detailed and elaborate affair, with entries of paddy lands, vegetable gardens and compounds where the houses were. It described every piece of land in detail, its extent, location, nature of the crops, number of trees and finally the dues to the State on each of the dutiable crops or trees. If both these parts of the tombo in any village were accurate and up-to-date, the collection of revenue of the village became simple and efficient.

When the Dutch took over the administration of the country from the Portuguese, they had this advantage that there was already some experience of this system of registration undertaken by the Portuguese. But unfortunately for them, only the head tombos were available ; much of the land tombos were destroyed in the wars and only fragments were left behind. Estimates were available of amounts collected in land rents and poll tax, showing the benefits of streamlining the system of revenue administration. In the first years of Dutch rule, taxes were collected according to the evidence collected from fragmentary Portuguese records. Native officials — Mudaliyars, Mayorals, Receivers, Clerks and Kanakkapulles — who had functioned under the Portuguese gave an element of continuity to the system. The land was divided into four Provinces — Valigamam, Vadamarachchi, Thenmarachchi and Pachilaipalai — for administrative and revenue purposes. The islands

off the peninsula were administered as a separate unit. In each province, the chief Mudaliyar had responsibility over collection of revenue. The Receivers undertook the actual collection assisted by a number of Kanakka-pulles. Each Receiver employed some Pandarapulles, who assisted him to enforce payment. The Receivers did not get a salary from the Dutch but were granted 1% of the amount collected.[9]

Within six or seven years of revenue collection, the advantages of better knowledge and accurate statistics became evident. Thus in 1666 officials reported to the Governor that a description of the four Provinces of Jaffna ought to be started.[10] Among the reasons adduced for the urgency of this task in Jaffna was the fact that there had taken place a considerable extent of development in agriculture. As noted above, the shortage of rice faced by the Dutch all over Ceylon had encouraged them to open up new lands. These lands, which had once been waste, had to be described afresh in the registers as cultivated land, and made to yield the revenue that they must legitimately yield. Another important consideration was one connected with recent developments in land tenure. One of the differences between the system among the Tamils and that among the Sinhalese concerned the position and power of chiefs. Among the Sinhalese, the chiefs had grown as a powerful group that interposed itself between the State and peasant. Among the Tamils, there was no such powerful group in existence. There were influential families who were generally appointed to the main offices, but these appointments were not necessarily hereditary. In the 17th century, however, partly because of the political insecurity attendant on the passing of Jaffna under

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[9] *Instruction from G. G. and C. to Government of Ceylon* 1656-1665 pp. 87-89, 123.

[10] Report of Van der Dussen and St. Martin to Governor of Ceylon, 4 October 1666, Kolonial Archief (The Hague) 1147, f 500.

foreign rule, the power of these influential office-holding families was tending to increase. They had amassed a considerable amount of good paddy lands, they monopolised the customs farming, they were the chief advisers to the foreign power on native affairs. It was now felt that the activities of these Mudaliyars had widened so far as to reduce the income of the State. It was suspected that they were using labour service that was due to the State for their own purposes, taking advantage of the ambiguity and lack of specific knowledge regarding service obligation.[11] Thus if the exact service due from each individual was clearly laid down, then this could not be used for private benefit.

It was decided to begin the first systematic and detailed preparation of head and land tombos in the four provinces of Jaffna and the islands. In 1671, Van Goens the younger son of the Governor, and member of the Political Council of Ceylon, on a tour of inspection of Jaffna, ordered the commencement of the registration.[12] Because of other preoccupations, this order was not immediately put into effect. With the appointment of Laurens Pyl as Commander of Jaffna in 1673, this long projected task was seriously taken in hand. A committee of three officers, to whom a fourth was added later, was appointed to be in charge of the work. It was carried out in two stages.[13] At first the native revenue officials — Mayorals and their Kanakapulles — went round the village noting on ola leaves in Tamil the names of individuals, their taxes, land holding and rents. This information was the base on which Dutch officials acted. The Special Committee now took up the task of checking these tombos, taking one province at a time. They ac-

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11 *Memoirs of Rij kloff van Goens* 1663-1675, transl. E. Reimers (Colombo, 1932). Pp. 42-43.

12 Report by Van Goens the younger, 15 December 1671, K. A. 1170 f 239.

13 Governor and Council of Ceylon to Directors, 26 November 1674, K. A. 1188 f 43.

companied the native officials round the villages and checked every item entered therein. This part of the work was very elaborate and cumbersome with regard to the land tombo. Here the inspecting party had to take with them qualified surveyors of land, who would measure each holding and enter it in the books. The verified and more or less accurate information was entered into documents known as the Head and Land Tombo, written in Dutch and entrusted to the Record-keeper. Later on, in the 18th century, a more ambitious scheme was attempted. With the information provided in the Tombos, maps were drawn of villages, plotting to scale each holding with appropriate signs showing crops grown or trees planted. This is the kind of perfect record Schreuder speaks of in his definition of a Tombo.

The Committee began its work at Valikamam and then proceeded to Vadamarachchi. The reaction of the peasantry to this entire work was one of hostility and caused one of the few instances of rural unrest in this period. Coming so unexpectedly in a land noted for peace and stability, the Dutch exaggerated its scope and called it a revolution. The people did not want the registration to be proceeded with. The villagers had been ordered by proclamation present themselves before the Committee with lists of their property and titles to be inspected and registered. They appealed that the registration be stopped and that the Dutch be content with doubling their land rents. The Dutch rejected this. When the appointed day approached, the people of Vadamarachchi and Thenmarachchi abandoned their villages and fled into the Vanni.[14] The authority of the Dutch government did not extend very far in the Vanni, which by its geographic location and physical features, gave ideal cover to recalcitrant rebels. At this time relationship between the Dutch and the Vanniyars, tradi-

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[14] Gov. Gen. and C. to Directors. 26 November 1676, K. A. 1204 ff 163-4.

tional rulers of the Vanni, was also rather strained. Kaila Vanni, the most influential of Vanni chiefs, was proving too independent for the Dutch. He gave secret support and encouragement to the rebels, hoping to utilise their disaffection against the Dutch. Thus he received the fleeing peasants into his domains, provided for them and, through secret agents, encouraged and even intimidated others to follow. It was rumoured that the rebels had sent couriers to enlist the support of Raja Sinha, King of Kandy, for their cause.[15] Now this was most worrying to the Dutch for it threatened to broaden the issue from a mere local into a national one. The Dutch and Raja Sinha had been engaged in an intense struggle for about ten years now and only the northern part of the island had been untouched by this struggle. This would enable Raja Sinha to spread his influence in this region too and the political consequences would be bleak to the Dutch.

The Dutch decided to suppress the rebellion before it got out of hand. The first thing to do was to cut off communications of the rebels between the Peninsula and the Vanni. The rebels were in control of the border lands and had done extensive damage in Thenmarachchi. The army was moved to occupy the pass between Jaffna and Vanni and a temporary military stockade and watch post was erected.[16] Once Jaffna was sealed off from the Vanni, the rebellion lost its momentum. In a few months, the people returned to their homes. The land registration was taken up from where it was left off and completed in all the four provinces and the islands by the middle of 1677.

The rebellion was but a futile expression of opposition to Dutch land policy in Jaffna. Its importance lay

15 *Ibid: Memoir of Van Goens the younger.* P. 17.

16 Gov. Gen. and C to Directors. 26 November 1676. K A 1204 ff 163-4.

in the light it sheds on some aspects of this policy and its effects on the people. Any new attempt to register people and property by the State is generally looked on with suspicion. The peasants expected, not without reason, that an increased burden of taxation would result from the preparation of the new tombos. Naturally they resented the whole process that would bring this about. The difference in rents on landed property between the new and the old tombo in each province was as follows (Figures in Dutch Guilders) : [17]

Province	Old Tombo	New Tombo	Increase
Valikamam	15,750	38,610	22,860
Vadamarachchi	6,111	8,940	2,829
Thenmarachchi	7,107	13,965	6,858
Islands	2,478	5,583	3,105
Pachilaipalai	4,575	5,532	957
		Total	36,609

In poll tax there was an increase of 35,160 Guilders. Thus the worst fears of the peasants were justified.

The Dutch case for these increased impositions was based on two hypotheses. In the first place, they argued that the main burden of this increase would fall on the more prosperous land owners who had of late extended their holdings and taken advantage of the new policy of development. It was this section which had incited opposition to the new tombos and had used their influence with the ordinary people to come out in their support. The other argument was that the general increase in prices and wages justified an increase in rents and taxes. Price of paddy had increased owing to the scarcity in the south. Daily wages had doubled from

[17] Commander and Council of Jaffna to Gov. Gen. & C., 9 September 1677, K. A. 1213 f 247.

¼ fanam to ½ fanam per person. The newly increased poll tax of 6 fanam per person could be earned by twelve days labour.[18]

The new tombos also revealed an addition of 12,000 service tenants whose labour was due to the State.[19] This had not been known so far and their labour had been utilised for private gain. Here too the registration fulfilled the aims of the Dutch. It could be argued that what was being prevented was the robbing of the State and that the position of the tenant himself was unaffected. The actual position, however, is somewhat different. When a service tenant was employed in working for a land owner in the village, he was working not far away from his home and his own private affairs would not suffer neglect. When the service was due to the Dutch Government, it was another matter. It could be any kind of service. It could be the construction of a port in Kankesanthurai or Kayts. It could be the loading of goods in Jaffna harbour. It could be the cutting of a road to the Vanni. All these major construction works carried him a fair distance away from his home, for considerable periods of time, to the neglect and hardship of his family. It is reasonable to assume that the scrupulous extraction of service obligation would have caused widespread discontent.

The argument about prosperity of the land as evidenced by the increasing amount of money in circulation and higher level of prices and wages must be examined in conjunction with the parlous state of the coinage. The coin most current among the community, in fact, later on, practically the only coin to be found among them, was the copper kasu. By 1679, the Governor observed in his memoir that its current value was

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18 Information regarding the Commandment of Jaffna by Laurens Pyl, 14 December 1677, K. A. 1213 f 261.

19 *Memoirs of Van Goens.* P. 42.

nearly twice as high as the value of the copper that went into it.[20] While in Jaffna 40 kasu were worth one fanam, in Coromandel it was exchanged at anything from 50 to 60 kasu for a fanam.[21] And since there was a good deal of trading between Jaffna and Coromandel, traders from the latter place found it profitable to pay for goods they took from Jaffna in this coinage, thus flooding the country with a coin of an artificially high value. This also meant that goods brought from outside were also fixed at a high price in reference to the copper kasu, which was the only coin the people had for circulation.

The increased taxation of the land and the people in the new tombo must be taken together with the overall effects of Dutch economic policy in Jaffna. Agriculture in Jaffna has never been exceedingly prosperous and could not produce large surpluses for sale. The soil is not very fertile, rainfall is insufficient and generally the bad year cancels out the good. If the Portuguese and the Dutch found a flourishing, taxable economy, this was largely attributable to its foreign trade. The trade in elephants, arecanut and tobacco was of a considerable extent. It attracted merchants from Bengal, Golconda, Coromandel and Malabar and brought in a good deal of money. The circulation of this money within the country enabled the carrying out of small trades in villages which gave the peasants some bye-employment and supplemented the meagre income from their farms. This economy, buoyed up by free trade, suffered a severe blow by the restrictive practices introduced on the trade of the island by the Dutch from 1670 onwards.[22] Dutch policy was to monopolise the

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20 *Memoir of Van Goens the younger.* P. 9.

21 Gov. Gen. and C. to Gov. and Council of Ceylon, 31 December 1682, K. A. 811 f 1451.

22 S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch power in Ceylon* 1658-1687 (Amsterdam 1958). Pp. 162 ff.

cloth and arecanut trade and not permit import and export of these articles to private traders. The restriction on these important items upset the rhythm of the trade and progressively fewer and fewer traders began to frequent the shores of Ceylon. The traffic from Bengal that had proved so lucrative to Jaffna petered out. Restrictions were imposed on the coastal trading of Jaffnese to Batticaloa, Mannar, Colombo and Galle. By the 1680s, Dutch officials noticed a gradual impoverishment of the country in general and the Jaffna area in particular.[23] Trade and traffic was at a standstill, markets were deserted, people were tending to rely on domestic production for articles which previously they had the ability to buy in the market.

The inter-dependence of land policy and trade policy was shown when these effects of trade policy had their consequences in the collection of land revenue and taxes. The people of Jaffna who had so far been contributing a high proportion of their income as taxes now found it impossible to do so. On the one hand, their taxes had been increased by the new tombo, on the other, some of the sources of their prosperity were drying up. It was reported that some of the more destitute villagers abandoned their villages and betook themselves to the wilder areas in the Vanni in order to avoid paying their taxes.[24] When Governor Pyl visited Jaffna in 1682, some of the people appeared before him and appealed that some of the taxes be waived.[25] The justice of these appeals was apparent to the officials and they recommended that the amount that was increased both in poll tax and land rents be waived for some

23 Gov. and Council of Ceylon to Directors, 22 January 1683 K. A. 1262 f 87.

24 Resolutions of the Commander and Council of Jaffna, 16 March 1681 K. A. 1252 ff 204-5.

25 Gov. and Council of Ceylon to Directors, 22 January 1683 K. A. 1262 f 87.

time.[26] Such decisions on revenue matters had to be approved by the Supreme Government at Batavia. After a great deal of hesitation, it was decided to grant an exemption only from the increased poll tax in 1690, and this was to be valid for a period of ten years.[27]

One of the most difficult problems in revenue administration confronting any government is to ascertain the point at which to compromise between its desire for the maximum revenue out of its land and the disadvantages that would result from excessive extortion of its peasants. Not all the facts of the position in Jaffna are clear in the period under review. It does seem, however, that the efforts to tighten up assessment and collection of rents and taxes did squeeze the peasants hard. The period that has been studied here does end in a note of economic decline and deterioration of living standards. A close look at the 18th century is necessary to see whether this decline has been arrested or whether position of the peasant continues to worsen.

26 Gov. and Council of Ceylon to Gov. Gen. and C. 24, November, 1683, K. A. 1272 f 127.

27 *Memoir of Zwaardecroon*, 1687. P. 20.

எழினி—யவனிகா

மயிலை சீனி. வேங்கடசாமி

திரைச் சீலைக்குத் தமிழில் எழினி என்றும் சமஸ்கிருத மொழியில் யவனிகா என்றும் பெயர். திரைச்சீலை என்னும் பொருள் உடைய யவனிகா என்னும் சமஸ்கிருதச் சொல், யவன என்னும் சொல்லிலிருந்து தோன்றியது என்று கருதப்படுகிறது. யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து திரைச் சீலை நமது நாட்டுக்கு வந்தது என்றும் ஆகவே யவன நாட்டுத் திரைச்சீலைக்குச் சமஸ்கிருதக்காரர் யவனிகா என்று பெயர் கொடுத்தார்கள் என்றும் கூறப்படுகிறது. இது உண்மை போலவும் தோன்றுகிறது.

கிரேக்க நாட்டின் ஒரு பகுதிக்குப் பண்டைக் காலத்தில் அயோனியா என்று பெயர் இருந்தது. அயோனிய தேசத்துக் கிரேக்கர் அயோனியர் என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டனர். அயோனியராகிய கிரேக்கர் தமிழிலும் சமஸ்கிருதத்திலும் யவனர் என்று கூறப்பட்டனர். யவனர் பண்டைக் காலத்தில் பேர்போன மாலுமிகளாக இருந்தனர். இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பே, கி.பி. முதல் நூற்றாண்டிலே யவனருடைய கப்பல் வாணிகம் பாரத நாட்டிலும் தமிழ் நாட்டிலும் இலங்கைத் தீவிலும் நடைபெற்று வந்தது. ஆகவே, தமிழரும் சமஸ்கிருதக்காரரும் கிரேக்கரை யவனர் என்னும் பெயரினால் அறிந்திருந்தார்கள். யவனர் தமது நாட்டிலிருந்து கொண்டுவந்து நமது நாட்டில் இறக்குமதி செய்த பொருள்களில் திரைச்சீலையும் ஒன்றாக இருக்கலாம் என்றும் ஆகவே யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து வந்த திரைச்சீலைக்கு சமஸ்கிருத மொழியில் யவனிகா என்று பெயர் ஏற்பட்டது என்றும் கருதுவது மிகப் பொருத்தமாகத் தோன்றுகிறது.

ஆனால், ஆய்ந்தோய்ந்து பார்த்தால் இவ்வாறு கருதுவது தவறு என்றும், யவனிகா என்னும் சமஸ்கிருதச் சொல் எழினி என்னும் தமிழ்ச் சொல்லின் திரிபு என்றும் தெரிகிறது. தமிழிலிருந்து சில பல சொற்களைச் சமஸ்கிருத மொழி கடனாகப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டிருப்பதில் எழினி என்னும் சொல்லும் ஒன்றாகும். இவ்வாறு கூறுவது சிலருக்குப் புதுமையாகவும் வியப்பாகவும் தோன்றும். இந்தக் கட்டுரையில் இதனைத் தெளிவாக விளக்கிக் கூறுவோம்.

திரைச்சீலை என்னும் பொருள் உடைய எழினி என்னும் சொல் சிலப்பதிகாரம், மணிமேகலை, பெருங்கதை முதலிய பழைய தமிழ் நூல்களிலே வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்திலே நிகழ்ந்த இந்திர விழாவின் இறுதி நாளிலே கடலில் நீராடுவதற்குக் கடற்கரைக்குச் சென்ற அரச குமரர்களும் செல்வப் பிரபுக்களும் மணற்பரப்பிலே எழினிகளால் அமைந்த விடுதிகளில் தங்கியிருந்த னர் என்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் கூறுகிறது.

" அரசிளங் குமரரும் உரிமைச் சுற்றமும்
பரத குமரரும் பல்வேறு ஆயமும்
ஆடுகள மகளிரும் பாடுகள மகளிரும்
தோடுகள் மருங்கில் சூழ்தரல் எழினியும் "

என்று சிலம்பு (கடலாடு காதை 155-158) கூறுகிறது.

கோவலனும் மாதவியும் கடல் நீராடக் கடற்கரைக்குச் சென்ற வர் மணற்பரப்பிலே புன்னை மர நிழலிலே ஓவியம் எழுதப்பட்ட திரைகளினால் அமைக்கப்பட்ட விடுதியிலே தங்கியிருந்தனர் என்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் கூறுகிறது.

" கடற்புலவு கடிந்த மடற்பூந் தாழைச்
சிறைசெய் வேலி அகவையின் ஆங்கோர்
புன்னை நீழல் புதுமணற் பரப்பில்
ஓவிய எழினி சூழவுடன் போக்கி
விதானித்துப் படுத்த வெண்கால் அமளிமிசை."

கோவலனும் மாதவியும் இருந்தனர் என்று சிலம்பு (கடலாடு காதை 166-170) கூறுவது காண்க. (ஓவிய எழினி - சித்திரப் பணி எழுதின திரை. அரும்பதவுரை)

சங்க காலத்திலே நாடக மேடைகளில் எழினியாகிய திரைகள் மூன்று விதமாக அமைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. அந்தத் திரைகள் ஒருமுக எழினி, பொருமுக எழினி, கரந்துவரல் எழினி என்று பெயர் பெற்று இருந்தன என்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் கூறுகிறது.

" தோற்றிய அரங்கில் தொழுதனர் ஏத்தப்
பூதரை எழுதி மேனிலை வைத்துத்
தூண்நிழல் புறப்பட மாண்விளக் கெடுத்தாங்கு
ஒருமுக எழினியும் பொருமுக எழினியும்
கரந்துவரல் எழினியும் புரிந்துடன் வகுத்தாங்கு
ஓவிய விதானத்து உரைபெறு நித்திலத்து
மாலைத் தாமம் வளையுடன் ஆற்றி
விருந்துபடக் கிடந்த அருந்தொழில் அரங்கம்,"

என்று கூறுவது காண்க. (அரங்கேற்று காதை. 106-113)

இதில் கூறப்பட்ட "ஒருமுக எழினியும் பொருமுக எழினியும், கரந்துவரல் எழினியும் புரிந்துடன் வகுத்தாங்கு" என்னும் அடிகளுக்கு அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் இவ்வாறு உரை எழுதுகிறுர் :

"இடத்தூண் நிலையிடத்தே உருவுதிரையாக ஒருமுக எழினியும் இரண்டு வலத்தூணிடத்தும் உருவு திரையாகப் பொருமுக எழினியும் மேற்கட்டுத்திரையாகக் கரந்துவரல் எழினியும் செயற்பாட்டாலே வகுத்து என்க. மேற்கட்டுத் திரையாய் நிற்பது ஆகாய சாரிகளாய்த் தோன்றுவார்க்கெனக் கொள்க. என்னை ?

—அரிதரங்கிற்
செய்தெழினி மூன்றமைத்துச் சித்திரத்தாற் பூதரையும்
எய்த எழுதி இயற்று

என்றுர் பரத சேனுபதியாரும்."

இதனுலே, தமிழர் தமது அரங்க மேடைகளிலே மூன்று வகையான எழினிகளை அமைத்தனர் என்பது தெரிகின்றது.

காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்தில் உபவனம் என்னும் பூந்தோட்டத்திலே புத்தர் பெருமானுக்கு அமைக்கப்பட்ட பளிக்குறை (கண்ணுடி) மண்டபம் இருந்தது. அந்தக் கண்ணுடி மண்டபத்திலே, மணிமேகலை என்பவள், உதயகுமரன் என்னும் சோழ அரசகுமரன் தன்னைப் பின்தொடர்ந்து வருவதை அறிந்து, ஒளிந்து கொண்டனள். ஆனுல், அரசகுமரன் அவள் பளிக்கறை மண்டபத்திற்குள் இருப்பதைப் பார்த்தான். பார்த்த அவன், அவள் அதற்குள் இருக்கும் இருப்பைக் கண்டு, "கண்ணுடியால் அமைக்கப்பட்ட பொருமுக எழினிக்குள்ளே இருந்து இலக்குமி, பாவைக் கூத்து ஆடுவதுபோல ஓவியன் எழுதியமைத்த பதுமையோ" என்று தனக்குள் எண்ணி வியந்தான் என்று மணிமேகலை என்னும் காவியம் கூறுகிறது.

"இளங்கோன் கண்ட இளம்பொற் பூங்கொடி
விளங்கொளி மேனி விண்ணவர் வியப்பப்
பொருமுகம் பளிங்கின் எழினி வீழ்த்துத்
திருவின் செய்யோள் ஆடிய பாவையின்
....
....
ஓவியன் உள்ளத்து உன்னியது வியப்போன்
காவியங் கண்ணி யாகுதல் தெளிந்து,"

என்று மணிமேகலை (ஐந்தாவது காதை 1-8.) கூறுகிறது.

8

வாசவதத்தை என்னும் அரசகுமாரி தான் கற்ற இசைக் கலையை அரங்கேற்றியபோது அவள், எழினியால் அமைந்த மண்டபத்திலே இருந்து இசை அரங்கேற்றினுள் என்று பெருங்கதை என்னும் காவியம் கூறுகிறது. அந்த எழினி மண்டபத்தைக் "கண்டங்குத்திய மண்டப எழினி" என்று கூறுகிறது. பல நிற முள்ள திரைச் சீலைகளினுல் கண்டக்கோல் நிறுத்தி மண்டபமாக அமைந்த அரங்கம் என்பது இதன் பொருள். மேலும்,

> "எதிர்முகம் வாங்கி எழினி மறைஇப்
> பதுமா நங்கையும் பையெனப் புகுந்து"

என்றும்,

> "கஞ்சிகை எழினியில் கரந்து நிற்போரும்"

என்றும் பெருங்கதை என்னும் காவியம் கூறுகிறது. இவற்ருல், திரை என்னும் பொருள் உடைய எழினி என்னும் சொல் தமிழ் மொழியில் வழங்கிவந்தது என்பது தெரிகின்றது.

இந்த எழினி என்னும் சொல்லைத்தான் சம்ஸ்கிருதமொழி கடனுகப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டு இதனை யவனிகா என்று திரித்து வழங்கியது. சம்ஸ்கிருத மொழியில் ழகர எழுத்து இல்லாதபடியால், சம்ஸ்கிருதக்காரர் எழினியில் உள்ள ழகரத்தை உச்சரிக்க முடியாமல், ழகரத்தை வகரமாக்கி உச்சரித்தார்கள். அதாவது எழினியை எவினி என்று உச்சரித்தார்கள். பிறகு எவினி யவனியாகி அதன் பின்னர் யவனி யவனிகா ஆயிற்று.

இப்படிச் சொன்னுல் சம்ஸ்கிருதக்காரர்கள் ஒப்புக்கொள்வார்களா? சம்ஸ்கிருதத்திலிருந்துதான் மற்றப் பாஷைகள் சொற்களைக் கடன் வாங்கின, சம்ஸ்கிருதம் மற்றப் பாஷைகளிலிருந்து கடன் வாங்கவில்லை என்று நம்புகிற, சொல்லுகிற சம்ஸ்கிருதப் பண்டிதர்கள் இந்த இருபதாம் நூற்றுண்டிலும் இருக்கிருர்கள். அவர்கள், எழினி என்னும் தமிழ்ச் சொல்லைச் சம்ஸ்கிருத மொழி கடனுகப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டு யவனிகா என்று வழங்குகிறது என்று சொன்னுல், இதை ஏற்றுக்கொள்வார்களா? ஏற்கமாட்டார்கள். ஆனுல், சம்ஸ்கித மொழியிலிருந்தே இதற்குச் சான்று காட்டினுல், அறிவாளிகள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்வார்கள் அல்லவா? ஆகவே சம்ஸ்கிருதத்திலிருந்தே இதற்குச் சான்று காட்டுவேன்.

சான்று காட்டுவதற்கு முன்னர் இன்னெரு செய்தியையும் தெளிவுபடுத்த வேண்டும். அதென்னவென்ருல், கிரேக்கக் கப்பல் வாணிகர் திரைச்சீலைகளை நமது நாட்டில் கொண்டு வந்து

இறக்குமதி செய்தார்களா? என்பதுதான். யவனக் கப்பலோட்டி கள் வாணிகப் பொருள்களாகக் கொண்டுவந்து இறக்குமதி செய் யப்பட்ட பொருள்களும் ஏற்றுமதி செய்துகொண்டுபோன பொருள் களும் இன்னின்னவை என்பதை கிரேக்கர்கள் எழுதி வைத்திருக் கிற பழைய நூல்களிலிருந்து நாம் அறிகிறோம். கிரேக்கர் நமது தேசத்தில் இறக்குமதி செய்த பொருள்களில் திரைச்சீலை கூறப்பட வில்லை. யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து திரைச்சீலைகள் நமது தேசத்துக்கு வந்திருக்கவும் முடியாது. ஏனென்றால், அந்தக் காலத்தில் பருத்தித் துணிகளுக்குப் பெயர் பெற்றிருந்தது பாரத தேசமும் தமிழ்நாடுந் தான். யவன தேசம் அந்தக் காலத்தில் பருத்தித் துணிகளுக்குட் பெயர் பெறவில்லை. யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து துணிகள் ஏற்றுமதியாக வில்லை. எனவே, பருத்தித் துணிகளினால் செய்யப்படும் எழினி (திரைகள்) யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து நமது நாட்டுக்கு இறக்குமதி ஆகி யிருக்க முடியாது. பருத்தித் துணிக்குப் பேர் பெற்றிருந்த பாரத தேசம், அத்தொழிலில் வளம்பெறாத யவன நாட்டிலிருந்து திரைச் சீலைகளை இறக்குமதி செய்தது என்றும், யவனர்களால் இறக்குமதி யான திரைச்சீலைக்கு யவனிகா என்று பெயர் வந்தது என்றும் கூறுவது பொருத்தமற்றதும் தவறானதும் ஆகும். அது சிறிதும் பொருந்தாது.

மேலும், ஆதிகாலத்திலே கிரேக்கர் தமது நாடக அரங்க மேடைகளிலே திரைச்சீலைகளை அமைக்கும் பழக்கம் உடையவர் அல்லர் என்றும், மிகப் பிற்காலத்திலேதான் அவர்கள் நாடக மேடைகளில் திரைச் சீலைகளை அமைக்கும் வழக்கத்தைக் கற்றனர் என்றும் கூறப்படுகிறது. இந்தக் கூற்று உண்மையானால், நாடக மேடையில் திரை அமைக்கும் பழக்கம் இல்லாத யவன நாட்டி லிருந்து திரைச்சீலை பாரத தேசத்தில் இறக்குமதியாயிற்று என்று கூறுவது எவ்வாறு பொருந்தும்? யவனர் தமது நாடக மேடையில் திரைகளை ஆதியில் அமைத்திருந்தாலுங்கூட அங்கிருந்து திரைச் சீலை நமது நாட்டுக்கு இறக்குமதி ஆகியிருக்க முடியாது. ஆகவே யவனிகா என்னும் சொல் யவன என்னும் சொல்லிலிருந்து உண் டானது அல்ல என்பது தெரிகிறது.

எழினி என்னும் தமிழ்ச் சொல் சம்ஸ்கிருதத்தில் யவனிகா என்றாயிற்று என்பதற்குச் சான்று காட்டுவதற்கு முன்னர் இன் னொன்றையும் இங்குக் கூற வேண்டும். எழினி என்னும் சொல் திரைச் சீலைக்குப் பெயராக வழங்கியதும் அல்லாமல், தமிழ் நாட்டிலே மனிதருக்கும் பெயராக அமைந்திருந்தது. எழினி என்னும் பெயருள்ள சிற்றரசர் பரம்பரை ஒன்று தமிழ்நாட்டில்

இருந்தது. எழினி அரசர்களைப் பற்றிச் சங்க நூல்களிலே காண்கிறோம். "அதிகமான் எழினி" என்னும் அரசன் தகடூர்க் கோட்டையை முற்றுகையிட்டு அப்போரிலே உயிர் இழந்தான். அவனை அரிசில் கிழார் என்னும் புலவர்,

> "வையகம் புகழ்ந்த வயங்குவினை ஒள்வாள்
> பொய்யா எழினி பொருதுகளம் சேர"

என்று (புறம் 230) பாடுகிறார்.

"வெம்போர் நுகம்படக் கடக்கும் பல்வேல் எழினி" என்பவனை ஔவையார் கூறுகிறார் (குறுந்தொகை 80) "மதியேர் வெண்குடையதியர் கோமான், நெடும்பூண் எழினி" என்பவனை அவரே பாடுகிறார் (புறம் 392), "சில்பரிக் குதிரைப் பல்வேல் எழினி"யைத் தாயங்கண்ணனார் என்னும் புலவர் பாடுகிறார். (அகம் 105.) "போர்வல் யானைப் பொலம்பூண் எழினி"யை நக்கீரர் (அகம் 36) கூறுகிறார். பெருஞ்சித்திரனாரும் (புறம் 158), மாங்குடி மருதனாரும் (புறம் 396), மாமூலனாரும் (அகம் 197) எழினி என்னும் பெயருள்ள அரசனைப் பாடியுள்ளனர். எனவே, எழினி என்னும் பெயருள்ள அரச குடும்பம் ஒன்று இருந்தது என்பதும் அந்தக் குடும்பத்து அரசரைப் பல புலவர்கள் பாடியுள்ளனர் என்பதும் தெரிகின்றன.

எழினி பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்த அரசர்கள் பிற்காலத்திலும் இருந்தார்கள். அந்தப் பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்த அரசன் ஒருவன் போளூருக்கு அடுத்த திருமலை என்னும் ஊரிலே குன்றின் மேலேயுள்ள சிகாமணிநாதர் கோவிலில் இயக்கன் இயக்கியர் திருமேனியைப் புதுப்பித்தான் என்று ஒரு சாசனம் கூறுகிறது. இந்தச் சாசனம் தமிழிலும் சம்ஸ்கிருதத்திலும் எழுதப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தமிழ்ப் பகுதி சாசனம், இந்த அரசனை எழினி என்று கூறுகிறது. சம்ஸ்கிருதப் பகுதி சாசனம் எழினியை யவனிகா என்று கூறுகிறது! அதாவது, தமிழ் எழினி, சம்ஸ்கிருதத்தில் யவனிகா என்று அமையும் என்பதை உள்ளங்கை நெல்லிக்கனி போல் விளக்குகிறது!! இந்தச் சாசனத்தைக் கீழே தருகிறேன்.

"ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ சேர வம்சத்து அதிகமான் எழினி செய்த தர்ம யக்ஷரையும் யக்ஷியாரையும் எழுந்தருளுவித்து எறிமணியும் இட்டு கடப்பேரிக்குக் காலும் கண்டு குடுத்தான்." (இது தமிழ்ப் பகுதி சாசனம்.)

"ஸ்ரீமத் கேரள பூப்ரிதா யவனிகா நமனு சுதர்ம்மாத்மனு துண்டீரஹ்வய மண்டலார்ஹ ஸுகிரெள யக்ஷேஸ்வரௌ கல்பிதௌ."* (இது சம்ஸ்கிருதப் பகுதி சாசனம்)

இந்தச் சாசனத்திலே தமிழ்ப் பகுதியில் வருகிற எழினி என்னுஞ் சொல் சம்ஸ்கிருதப் பகுதியில் யவனிகா என்று கூறப்பட்டிருப்பது காண்க. இந்தச் சாசனத்தைப் பதிப்பித்த Dr. E. Hultzsch அவர்கள், "திரை என்னும் பொருள் உடைய எழினி என்னும் தமிழ்ச் சொல்லின் சரியான சம்ஸ்கிருதச் சொல் யவனிகா என்பது" என்று விளக்கம் எழுதியிருக்கிறார். Yavanika is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil Elini, 'a curtain' † என்று அவர் எழுதியிருக்கிறார்.

எழினி என்னுஞ் சொல் யவனிகா என்றாயிற்று என்பதற்கு நல்லதோர் சான்றினைச் சாசனத்திலிருந்தே காட்டினேன். எனவே, இதனை இனி ஒருவரும் மறுக்கமாட்டார்கள் என்று நம்புகிறேன். யவன என்னுஞ் சொல்லிலிருந்து யவனிகா என்னும் சொல் சம்ஸ்கிருதத்தில் உண்டாயிற்று என்று கூறுவது, மேற்போக்காகப் பார்ப்பவர்க்கு உண்மை போலத் தோன்றினாலும், ஆழ்ந்து ஆராய்ந்து பார்த்தால் உண்மையில் எழினி என்னும் சொல்லே யவனிகா என்றாயிற்று என்பது பட்டப்பகல் வெட்ட வெளிச்சமாகத் தெரிகிறது.

"எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு"

என்றும்,

"எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத் தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு"

என்றும் திருக்குறள் கூறுவது எவ்வளவு உண்மையாக இருக்கிறது!

சம்ஸ்கிருதத்திலிருந்து தமிழ்மொழி பல சொற்களைக் கடனாகக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது போலவே, சம்ஸ்கிருத மொழியும் தமிழ்மொழியிலிருந்து பல சொற்களைக் கடன்வாங்கியிருக்கிறது. எடுத்துக் காட்டாகச் சில சொற்களைக் கூறுவோம்:

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* Inscription at Tirumalai near Polur. Pp. 331-332. Epigraphia Indica Vol. VI.

† E.I. Vol. VI. P. 331.

நீர், அனல், யாடு (ஆடு), கான் (கானகம்), களம், தாமரை, தண்டு, பல்லி, புன்னை, மயில், மல்லிகை, மை, மகள், மாலை, மீன் என்னும் தமிழ்ச் சொற்கள் சம்ஸ்கிருதத்தில் சென்று முறையே நீர, அனல, எட, கானன, கல, தாமரஸ, தண்ட, பல்லீ, புன்னாக, மயூர, மல்லிகா, மஷி, மஹிளா, மாலா, மீன என்று வழங்கு கின்றன. இவை போன்று இன்னும் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான சொற் களைத் தமிழிலிருந்தும் வேறு திராவிட மொழிகளிலிருந்தும் சம்ஸ் கிருத பாஷை கடன் வாங்கியிருக்கிறது. சம்ஸ்கிருத மொழி தமிழிலிருந்து கடன் வாங்கிய சொற்களில் யவனிகா என்பதும் ஒன்று என்றும் எழினி என்னும் சொல் யவனிகா என்று ஆயிற்று என்றும் இக்கட்டுரையில் விளக்கப்பட்டன.

The Earliest Stage of Tamil Religion

H. S. DAVID

The *Kutuntohai* shows nowhere any elaborate ritual for worshipping the deity. It calls God by the names given below. Most of these names can very well be reconciled with an early monotheism.

I. *Kat:avul:*

In one instance,[1] the Commentary explains this term as referring to an ascetic, in Tamil " munivar ". It justifies this interpretation by citing the interpretation of " kat: avul: " at Mathuraik. 41 as " the sage, Agastya " by Nhacc. In every other instance in Kutunh. this term refers to God alone. At 87: 1-2, God is said to reside on the branches of the red species of the " kat: ampu " tree, the " barringtonia acutangula ", in the open square or piazza of the village. He is supposed to be an expert in instilling fear or inspiring terror into the people and in inflicting punishment on the cruel. At 105: 1-3, gold-coloured ears of millet (in Tam. thinai) are offered to God, who eats fresh grain : but unfortunately a peacock, ignorant of this sacrificial aspect, eats up all the millet and suffers the consequence in fever and in a fit of wild dancing. At 252: 4 occur the mysterious words : kat: avul: katpin. The Comm. here explains it as the chastity of the divinity[2] or the chastity of Arundhati : and

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1 Kutuṅh. 203 : 4.

2 தெய்வத்தன்மையையுடை கற்பினுவல்.

adduces Aka. 16: 17-18 in support. The relevant words in this Aka. poem are :—

va: naththu
an: angkarung kat: avul: anno: l:

The Nhatt. refers to kat: avul: on a few occasions :— At 216:6, God is supposed to have ascended into the kino tree, the "pterocarpus bilobus", the flowers whereof are red like fire ; and from its branches he watches over the paddy-fields, where the herons make a tremendous uproar. At 358 : 6 God is supposed to have his hosts or armies under him. Hence he is called "kan: am kel-u kat: avul: " To him the heroine and her female companion offer a sublime oblation (uyar pali) and him they adore.

Likewise the Aka. has a few interesting references, besides the one cited above, to Kat: avul:[3] In the first instance the mountain-folk, called "kutavar", worship God with the perfume of sandal-wood as their oblation :—

"kat: avut: pe: n: i
kutavar thanhtha canhthin a: ram."

In the second instance, the warrior-folk, called "Matavar", offer their own sacrifice to God in the desert. On a hillock near some bushes, a thicket, a sepulchral stone, or a pillar set up in token of victory, they gather in large numbers. They decorate such a pillar with peacock's feathers and tails. They beat the drum of the barren tracts called "thut: i" or "ut: ukku" and offer God the sacrifice of a lamb along with the fermented juice of paddy :—

Matavar
Valla: n: pathukkaik kat: avut: pe: n: ma:r
nhat: ukat pi: li cu: t: t: i ththut: ippat:uththuth
tho: ppikkal: l: ot: u thuru: uppali kot: ukkum.

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[3] at 13: 3-4; 35: 7-9; 90: 9; 156: 13-15 and 282: 18.

In the third case Cellu:r is said to be the abode of " arunh thitat kat:avul: " = God of extraordinary might.

In the fourth instance, the mother of the heroine offers her own sacrifice to God. This consists of " kal:l:u ", a term which varies in meaning between honey and the fermented juice of the cocoanut palm or of the palmyrah, a garland and a kid with erect horns and hanging ears :—

> kal:l:um kàn:n:iyum kaiyutai a:ka
> nhilaikko:t:t:u vel:l:ai nha:l cevi kkit:a:aiy
> nhilaiththurai kkat:avut:ku ul:appat:a o:cci.

In the fifth instance, the heroine's wedding approaches. Her female companion informs the lady thereof and invites her to an oblation to her household-God and to a joint prayer to him for a speeding up of the heroine's marriage :—

> " வல்லே வருக வரைந்த நாள் " என, யாமும்
> நல்இறை மெல்விரல் கூப்பி,
> இல்உறை கடவுட்கு ஒக்குதும் பலியே !

II. *Cu:r*

Cu:r is another word for God, as the one inspiring terror (accam), an equivalent of Sk. Bhairava. This term occurs three times in the Kutunh.[4] Cu:r resides on the slopes of mountains and is fond of young women, who guard their chastity.* When he possesses them, they begin to tremble.

> சிலம்பிற்
> சூர் நசைத் தனையையாய் நடுங்கல் கண்டே.

He has chosen, among all hills, Pothiyil, difficult of ascent and redolent of the fragrance of sandalwood, in South India :

> மன்உயிர் அறியாத் துன்அரும் பொதியிற்
> சூர்உடை அடுக்கத்து ஆரம் கடுப்ப.

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4 52: 2; 105: 5; 376: 2.

* This interpretation of the texts is debatable.—*Editor.*

Nhatt. speaks of "cu:r" occasionally.[5] In the first two instances here cited, the Commentator interprets "cu:r" as "dread": but in the two other instances, "cu:r" is the God of terror. He terrorizes the mountain-slope, where he resides, so effectively that even the mountain-goats, which delight in fighting, are afraid to skip or frisk thereon. But love conquers all: "amor vincit omnia". Near this god's abode are the choicest fresh leaves that can be used as the dress* of young ladies. The lover plucks them from the trees on that very slope and presents them to his beloved, in their trysting-place, for her to wear them on festive occasions :—

போர்உடை வருடையும் பாயாச்
சூர்உடை அடுக்கத்த கொயற்குஅருந் தழையே.

At Citukut:i, a hamlet under the jurisdiction of Aruman, the white rice, boiled out of the red paddy, and the fried curry, made out of the "karunai" yam, which has black joints, are offered as an oblation to "Cu:r".

கருங்கண் கருனைச் செந்நெல் வெண்சோறு
சூர்உடைப் பலி...................

The Aka. supplements our knowledge of "Cu:r" with certain additional details, both about him and about his celestial daughters. According to Aka. 158-8-9 the "Cu:r", who dwells on the neighbouring hill, appears in the horoine's garden under several guises but always wearing a resplendent flower :—

சூருடைச் சிலம்பில் சுடர்ப்பூ வேய்ந்து
தாம்வேண்டு உருவின் அணங்குமார் வருமே.

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[5] 7: 1; 268: 1; 359: 9; 367: 3-4.

* For an ornamental purpose.—*Editor.*

Aka: 359:11 states that "Cu:r" desires to dwell on the densely forest-clad mountain-slope amidst rain, thunder and lightning:—

சூர்புகல் அடுக்கத்து மழைமாறு முழங்கும்.

Aka. 198.17 describes a celestial damsel, a daughter of "Cu:r". In the south, in the fertile country belonging to A:ay, the shepherd king, there is a hill sacred to God (who is here called "An:angku"). On its terror-inspiring slope is Kaviram. There we find a fountain, which is always full of water and of soft flowers. Within this fountain dwells the daughter of "Cu:r":—

தெனாஅது
ஆஅய் நன்நாட்டு அணங்குடைச் சிலம்பில்
கவிரம் பெயரிய உருகெழு கவாஅன்
நேர்மலர் நிறைசுனை உறையுஞ்
சூர்மகள்.

Aka. 162:25 speaks of several daughters of "Cu:r". On the precipitous slopes, where cascades and waterfalls add beauty to the landscape, dwell these awe-inspiring divine maidens:—

காண்வர
ஒளிறுவன இழிதரும் உயர்ந்துதோன்று அருவி
நேர்கொள் நெடுவரைக் கவாஅன்
சூர்அர மகளிர்.

Before we conclude with "Cu:r", I may mention that this term is used by the latest of the Eight Anthologies, the Paripa: at 19:23 in this sense: சூருறை குன்றில் தடவரை. This term is also employed for naming God at Malaip. (one of the Ten Idylls) at line 239: சூர்புகல் அடுக்கத்து. The Pathit. at 67: 19-20 informs us that "Cur:r" cherishes most the "Ka: nhthal:" flower. Normally the beetles avoid those flowers that are sacred to "Cu:r"; but in one instance a beetle has violated the sacred flower in question:—

மலர்ந்தகாந்தள்...கடும்பறைத் தும்பி சூர்நசைத்து ஆஅய்.

What is old is valued for its antiquity, especially if it is a thing of worth. If persons whom we loved or valued have departed from us, we cherish as mementoes and keep-sakes any letters they may have written. Even a single page written by them or about them in their own time becomes precious in our sight. What shall we say then of our ancestors of sixty generations ago ? It is precisely because of their antiquity that their beliefs about God and His manifestations become of great value to us. In the short sketch I have given above, I have endeavoured to sketch briefly and, as far as possible, in the words of their own time, these beliefs, about the Divinity, of our Tamil ancestors two thousand years ago. For reasons of the space allowed for this article by the editor, I have confined myself to the earliest Love Poems and even in them I have given only the extracts wherein God is referred to as கடவுள் or சூர். In a later article I shall describe what these very same poets have to say about God under the titles of அணங்கு, தெய்வம், முருகு or முருகன். These epithets form the very first nomenclature of the deity that we meet with in the earliest Tamil classics extant.

Before I conclude this subject, let me make one or two remarks. The first is about the prevalent dread of God that is common both to the Israelites of the Old Testament and to the contemporaneous Tamils of South India and Ceylon. It was Christ who first exposed to the Jews the idea of the fatherhood of God. It was He who explained to a people that was reluctant to believe Him that God loved men as a fond father cherishes his off-spring. The Jews of the Old Dispensation had a dread for the Deity, as is evinced in several places, but most evidently in the description of Moses and his Jewish followers making the old covenant or pact with God on Mount Sinai. This is how the book of Exodus, Chapter 19, describes the scene there enacted : "And behold thunders began to be heard, and lightning to flash, and

a very thick cloud to cover the mount. And the people in the camp feared. And all Mount Sinai was on smoke; because the Lord was come down upon it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace. And all the mount was terrible. It burned even unto heaven: and there was darkness, and a cloud and obscurity in it. And the Lord said to Moses: 'Thou shalt say to the people: Take heed ye go not up into the mount and that ye touch not the borders thereof. Every one that toucheth the mount, dying he shall die'. And the people cried unto Moses, saying, 'Speak thou to us: but let not the Lord speak to us. For, if he did so, dying we shall die.'"

This is not the only instance where the fear of the Lord God is inculcated in the Old Testament. For in the second Book of Kings there is a narration of the attempted transfer of the Ark of the Covenant from Carithiarim to Sion, King David's city. During this ceremony the oxen kicked and made the Ark lean to one side. Oza, who with his brother (Ahio) was driving the new cart, put forth his hand to the ark of God and took hold of it. And the indignation of the Lord was enkindled against Oza: and He struck him for his rashness. And he died there before the ark of God. No wonder then that the psalmist sings in Psalm 110, verse 10; "Holy and terrible is His name: the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". Moses lived in the 15th century before Christ and King David at the beginning of the 10th century B.C.

Alagar Koil, an Ancient Shrine

J. M. SOMASUNDARAM

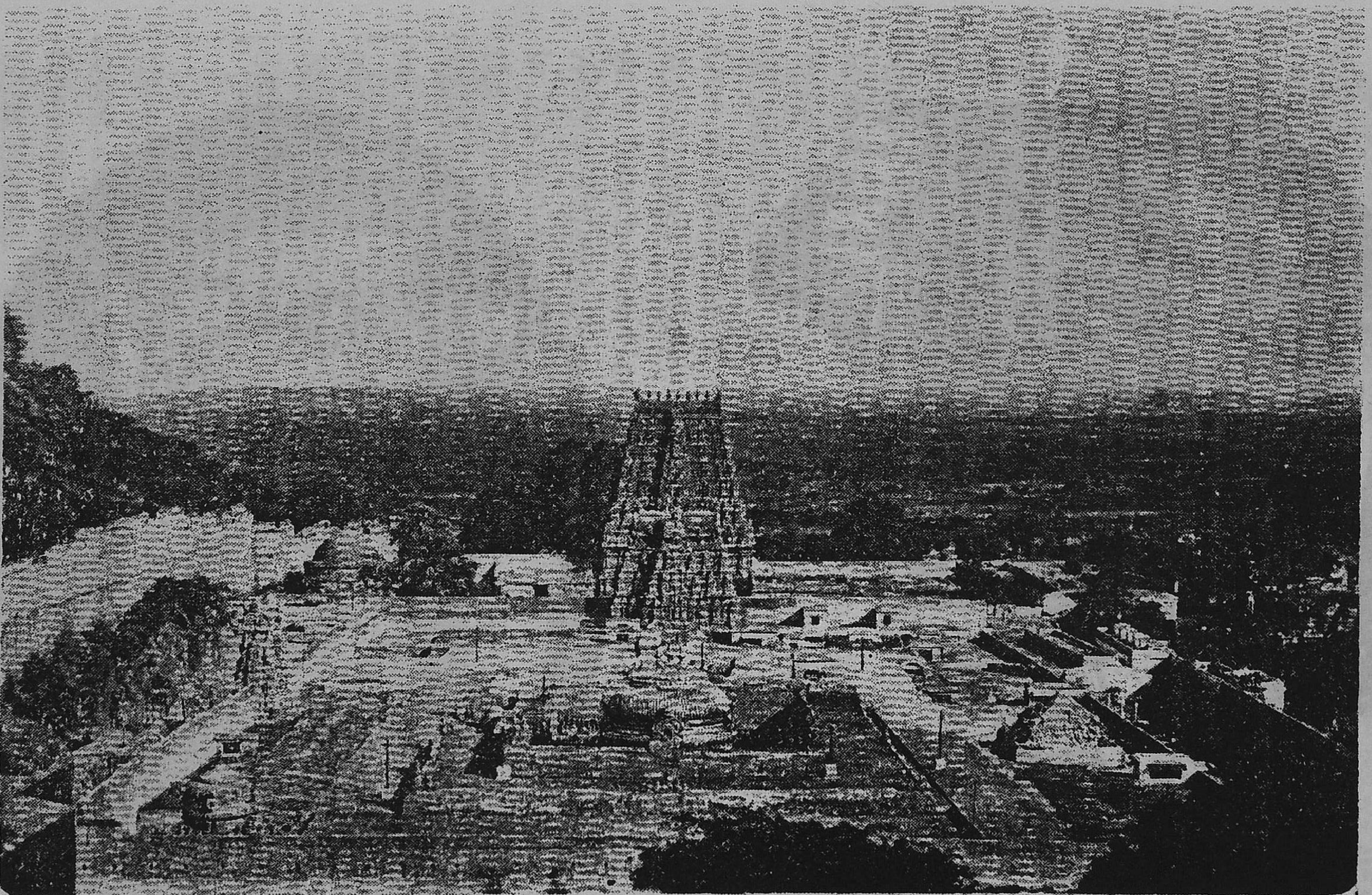
[The Chitra Pournami is of momentous significance to Madurai — the Athens of South India. The gorgeous festive attire that she puts on with the arrival of Sri Soundararaja from Alagarkoil on the previous eve, and the religious enthusiasm, displayed by the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims that collect in the City to have a glimpse of Him must be seen to be believed. The five days of His sojourn in and around Madurai before He returns, back to Alagarkoil, are memorable days, and, the Vaigai presents an aspect of a vast moving city with a sea of heads for miles in every direction, and, as the city moves on with His majestic presence. The abode of Sri Soundararaja is Alagarkoil.]

Thirteen miles north-west of Madurai, there stands at the southern end of the Alagar hills, the temple of Sri Soundararaja Perumal or Alagar — the beautiful. The spot is most picturesque. The temple with its golden *Vimana* and its many towers inset within an old fort — since decayed — contrasts effectively with the dark green of the wooded slopes behind it. It is seen that round about this temple, in days gone by, there was a fortified town called Alagapuri. The ruins of the palace of Tirumalai Nayak (A.D. 1623-59) which still stand near it show that it was a favourite frontier residence of the Nayak rulers of Madurai or more probably the seat of a subordinate chief of the Pandya Kings and latterly of Nayak chieftains under Tirumalai. This locality once reputed to be highly malarial, thanks to the efforts of Athappa Chettiar, a past trustee of the temple, now receives a bountiful crystal water supply from *Nupura-Gangai*—a cascade of sparkling icy water from a natural spring nearly three miles higher up the hill. This Hill temple and the city of Madurai are now

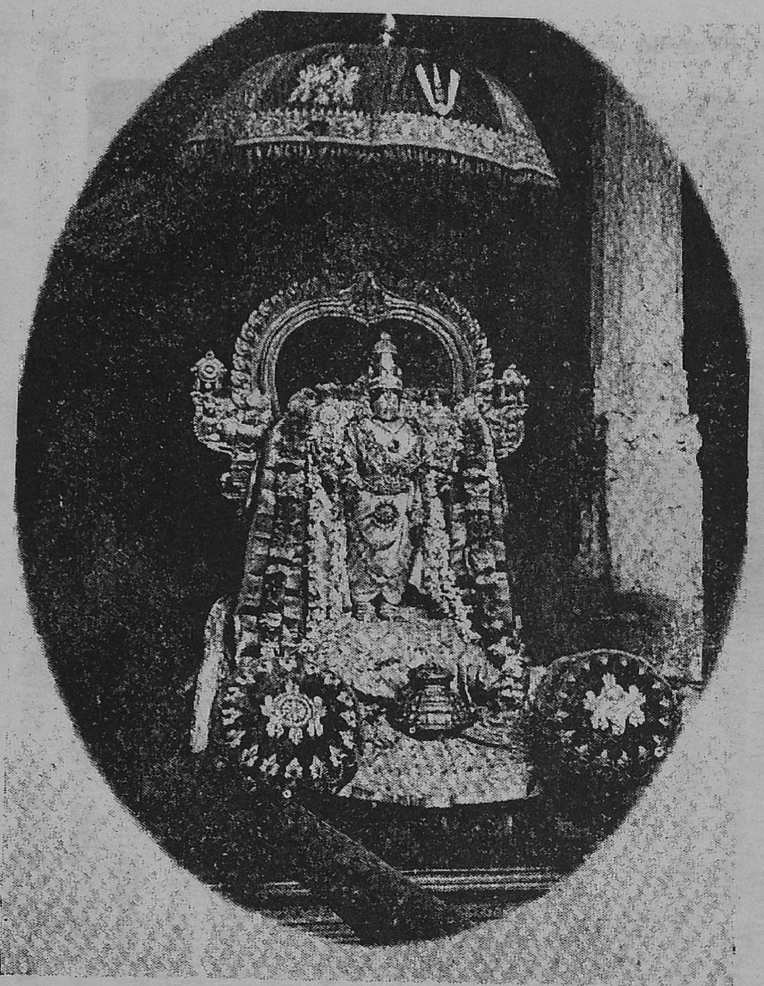
connected by a well-maintained road and a regular bus service and the bhakta now finds the temple easy of access.

This temple is one of the 108 Vaishnavite shrines held in religious esteem next to Tirupathi or the Venkata Hill in the north and Srirangam in the South. Saints, Periyalvar, Tirumangaialvar, Buthathalvar, Peyalvar, Nammalvar, and Andal have poured forth their hearts' ecstasies in praise of this "Tirumalirunsolai" and its presiding Lord, Alagar, in 135 verses in *Nalayira-prabandham*. Sri Ramanuja the great reformer is referred to have visited this shrine, and offered to the deity 100 pots of *Akkara Adisil* — a sweet preparation of milk and rice — which St. Andal of Srivilliputtur had thought of offering to the deity but could not actually do so in her lifetime. A spot is also pointed out in the vicinity of the temple on the foreshore of the Aravamuthu tank — as the last resting place of Saint Periyalvar.

The antiquity of the temple is unquestionable. There are references to this temple in *Cilappadikaram* (2nd to 3rd Century A.D.) as "Tirumalkunram", (Canto 11.11.87 to 138) where the worship with folded hands of the beautiful feet of Him on the exalted hill — from under the shade of the Kongu tree with bright flowers on the banks of the *Silambāru* is described. *Silambāru* is the classical name of a rivulet trickling down the hills in the rainy season, which might formerly have been a small flowing stream coming down to the steps of the temple. It is the *Nupura-Gangai* — mentioned by the Alvars as descending from the circlet — Silambu or the anklet of Alagar. Mention is also made in that text of three *poigais* or ponds on this hill — *Punyasaravanam, Bavakarni,* and *Ishta Siddhi,* a bath in each of these is said to bestow certain specific miraculous powers on the bather. Even now a few ponds do exist on the hills, but their identity is not



Bird's-eye view of Alagar Koil on Alagar Hills



Sri Soundararaja Perumal — Alagar Koil



Sri Soundararaja as Kalla-Alagar

ascertainable. *Paripadal*, another classic, has its 15th song in praise of this shrine. An exquisite pen picture of the spot is here given — along with praises of its presiding Lord. It states also that the spot contained shrines to Kannan and his elder brother Baladeva. These shrines could not be identified now. There are a number of shrines and niches located in many separate mandapams situated each apart on the hill temple. Most of the idols of the presiding deities are found removed, and, some of them have fallen down. The main temple itself has passed through various vicissitudes of fortune under several ruling dynasties of the Madura country. There were lesser shrines round about the temple and, it is not known what became of these lesser shrines. There were also mandapams which have passed into the hands of certain individuals or communities on the principle of the first occupier. One of them for instance is occupied by the Mangulam Ambalagars, another by the Narasingampettai Ambalagars, four by the Sourashtras and one by the Yadhavas. *Alagar Kalambagam* is a later literary composition sung in His praise. The place is known as "Irumkunram" in the Tamil classics and as "Tirumal-irum-solai" in Vaishnavite scriptures. It is also identified with *Pazhamuthirsolai* (பழமுதிர்சோலை) of Nakkirar's *Tirū Murugārruppadai* as one of the favourite resorts of Muruga. Nakkirar's description of this place is similar to the descripton of the places generally resorted to by Muruga.

The inscriptions on the temple walls also prove the antiquity of the place. Only eleven of them were copied and noticed till 1928; and thanks to the Government Epigraphist, most of them have since been copied. The earliest is a fragment of an inscription in Vatteluthu which has not been noticed as yet or deciphered. The earliest so far deciphered is inscription No. 80 of 1910 which registers a gift of land to the temple by Raja Raja (Kesarivarman) alias Sri Raja Raja

Deva Chola (D. 1003 A.D.) on a pillar in one of the mandapams. The text of these inscriptions when published in full is expected to throw a flood of light on the early history of this holy place.

The high walls of the old fortress enclosing the temple stand nearly entire all around. Passing up the main road from Madurai the approach to the temple is by the fort entrance. Leading on to a considerable distance, there is at its west a Mandapam of Tirumalai Nayak. His life size statue as well as those of his consorts adorn it. The fair round belly for which Tirumalai was noted is most realistically and unflatteringly depicted. A little farther up, are the ruins of his palace — a structure of brick and chunnam — roofed, domed and vaulted, as the Nayak Palace at Madurai. They are in the last vestiges of decay. To its west, stands the Rayagopuram and its gateway with some of the best carvings to be found here. This imposing gateway and the remnants of the super-structure above it show that it must have been a complete building and in use. And, on festive occasions as the processional deity passed through it the royal zenana must have watched and worshipped Him, from the palace beyond. An inscription on the inner side of this structure is dated Saka 1468 or 1546 A.D. i.e., the time of Rama Raya Tirumaladeva Maharaya of the Vijayanagar dynasty. The inscription is in grantha and Tamil characters, and gives a geneology of the kings of the Aravidu dynasty.

Further to the west of this royal gateway, is the Vasantha Mandapam where the deity presides over the ten days Vasantha festivities in May-June each year. This festival is one of the pleasantest. The Mandapam serves as a summer resort of the deity, with a square central porch, around which runs a masonry construction designed to let in a stream of cool flowing water. The walls and ceilings of the building bear interesting

frescos illustrating the Ramayana. Their artistic value is unquestionable.

The temple of Alagar is reached by a main entrance over which rises a recently renovated gopuram (August, 1909). This gateway is not in use as such, but it is a sanctum. A flight of 18 steps run down from this entrance, at the foot of which is a pair of huge wooden doors held sacred to Sri Karuppannasami—the divine watchman of the temple. The deity is known as the Karuppu of the 18 steps, and held in awe and veneration. Tradition has it that a ruler of Malabar coveted the processional idol of Alagar for His great beauty, and when it was refused to be parted with, he commissioned 18 magicians to rob it of the halo which made the figure surpassingly entrancing. The magicians were discovered in their unholy act and decapitated. The eighteen steps mark the spot where they fell with their last request that they might rest there in peace. The doorway is splattered all over with sandal-paste as a devout offering to the Karuppu. On either side of the sanctum, there is a collection of frightfully large iron bill hooks and spears (some of them over 12 feet in height), deposited here on the fulfilment of vows by devotees whose undertakings He had blessed with success ; also, cradles offered Him by women blessed with offsprings. The doorway as Karuppu's sanctum is also resorted to specially when solemn affirmations have to be made. It is believed that the man who swears to falsehood and passes through this gate of 18 steps with the lie on his lips would speedily come to a miserable end. Many a civil suit is settled by the parties agreeing to allow the court's decree to follow the affirmation made on the footsteps of the gate. A fee of Rs. 6/ is charged by the temple to record such affirmations.

North of this famous doorway is the Vandivasal entrance to the spacious temple quadrangle, 90 yards by 50 yards. This is a striking place, two sides of it

towered over by a wooded hill, around which stand several smaller mandapams, and two old circular granaries called Rama and Lakshmana — formerly used to hold the grain offerings made to the temple.

In the middle of this quadrangle is a long three-aisled "Nayakar Mandapam" called after Tirumalai Nayak. It is borne by 40 pillars shaped in the *yali* and other familiar Nayak styles. This is the Kalyana Mandapam; and it is well worth a visit. An array of exquisitely sculptured pillars beautify it. The most noteworthy of these is that of Narasimha — in the act of tearing away the entrails of Hiranya and of wearing them as a garland. The action is depicted in two stages in two pillars placed opposite to each other. In contrast to this gory statuary, there is a beautiful figure of Rathi, the Indian Venus — seated on a graceful Swan holding a mirror in her hand. She is the embodiment of beauty with an expression full of vanity and charm. Opposite is the figure of her lord Manmatha — the God of Love — whose sugarcane bow, some passing vandal has broken. The other sculptural representations of Lakshmivaraha, Tirivikrama, Venugopala are all of skilful workmanship.

As one descends the steps of the Kalyana mandapam, he faces the temple entrance guarded on either side by two colossal Dwarapalakas. The temple has received large additions from successive rulers of the country, one of the Pandyas — Sundara Pandya (about 1303 A.D.) having constructed "the *Koyil Pon veynda Perumal Tirumunmañdapam*", wherein is now Sri Krishna's shrine (Ins. 84 of 1929). This beautiful mandapam stands within, to the right of the temple entrance. A raised platform also goes by the name of Sundara Pandya, and it is located in the central mahamandapam opposite to the holy shrine. The corridor running round this central mahamandapam and shrine is ascribed to Tirumalai Nayak. A bed chamber which is now the

shrine of Sri Rama in the south-west corner of the temple corridor is another of his gifts with a rare and antique ivory bedstead. Tirumalai Nayak's figure stands at the entrance to this chamber. The bedstead within is 12 feet long, 10 feet wide and 15 feet high mounted on a pedestal of polished granite supported by four pillars carved from similar stone. The covering is a domed wooden roof elaborately inlaid and fitted with ivory carvings. They are of most intricate and artistic designs.

The foundation of this temple is attributed to Malayadhwaja Pandya, the mythical father of Goddess Meenakshi. The *Sanctum Sanctorum* is an uncommon circular apse, lighted by slit windows of pierced stone, all of different designs. Perhaps this is the only part of the temple which has been allowed to remain as originally constructed. The golden Vimana or dome over this *Sanctum Sanctorum* is the centre of attraction for miles around, as it is beautiful and artistic. All the other surrounding portions have undergone renovations.

The popular name of the deity as Kallalagar is most interesting. The Kallar community of the Madurai and Ramnad districts claim Him as their favourite deity, their community name having been prefixed to that of Alagar. The members of the community have thereby acquired also a priority right to drag His car at the annual Ādi car festival; and, during Alagar's visit to Madurai for the great Chitrai festivities of Sri Meenakshi's wedding with Lord Sundareswara, Sri Perumal assumes the guise of a Kalla chief as He sets forth for Madurai and on the last day of the festival when He returns to Alagarkoil to the great gratification of that community. But, it may be mentioned here that the word "Kalla" or thief is a choice or endearing attribute to Vishnu and particularly Krishna as (வஞ்சக் கள்வன், மாமாயன்) which are used to signify the many ways He thieves into the hearts of His seekers and appeals to

them in the form appropriate to their merits.* The Hrdhaya Kamala is a subtle organ of the human body, and what wonder is it that the great Stealer carries or entices away the hearts of His bhaktas.

The processional icon of the deity, two and a half feet in height is of uncommon beauty and its profound halo of expression contribute to His great popularity, and of His famous hill-shrine.

The two chief festivals of the temple are the Chittarai Utsavam coming off in April-May and the Adi-Brahmothsavam in July every year. The unique feature of the earlier one is the procession of the deity on Chitra Pournami from Alagarkoil to Madurai and thence to Vandiyur and back — a distance of 15 miles each way, and, that of the later is the car festival at Alagarkoil. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit Madurai to witness the earlier festival on the banks of the Vaigai when Alagar fords the river to Vandiyur. It is a festival of ten days and the Deity is apparelled for the procession in a Kalla guise. It is possibly the grandest festival in South India and the great Tirumalai Nayak is said to have fixed this festival to commence immediately after the car festival of Sri Meenakshi at Madurai for the convenience of the enormous crowd of pilgrims to have His *darsanam* and earn His grace. The festival of the first three days is celebrated in Alagarkoil itself and on the morning of the fourth day Kallalagar starts for Madurai. The procession halts each way at nearly 200 mandapams, for blessing the offerings of His devotees, which line the road all along and returns to Alagarkoil on the fifth day after starting. The religious enthusiasm evinced at this festival is better seen and felt than described.

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* *Krishna Karunamirtham* — Sri Krishna playing the little thief that He generally is : I. 81.

"It was He who stole away the agony in the hearts of pious sages,
It was He who stole away the garments of the love intoxicated cow-herdesses ;
It was He who stole away the pride of Indra Lord of Heavens ;
How powerless I am when He is stealing away the lotus of my heart now."

Reflections on Pallava History

V. SP. MANICKAM

Thanks to the sincere and strenuous efforts of great scholars, European and Indian, for a century and over, we have to-day a good and detailed account of the History of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Pallava dynasty was the first foreign dynasty which, after the glorious Tamil Sangam age, penetrated into the northern frontier of Tamil Nadu and established a long and powerful sway over it. The Nayanmars and Alwars who spread Saivism and Vaishnavism respectively at the expense of Buddhism and Jainism flourished in this period. The Pallavas were the fore-runners of the Cholas and others in various cultural activities of a permanent nature. Because of its location in the northern part of the Tamil land, the Pallava kingdom had political contacts with the Pandyas in the extreme south and with the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed in the Deccan. The Pallava sovereigns encouraged Sanskrit study, patronized Sanskrit poets and followed Aryan thoughts and ideals in politics and religion. Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.) was the greatest of the Pallava monarchs. He was an original thinker and a versatile scholar. His idea of changing the material for temple building from brick to stone opened new vistas for the rapid and flourishing growth of art and architecture in Tamilakam. His change of faith from Jainism to Saivism was a landmark in the religious annals of South India. All these features were thoroughly brought to light by a minute study of different sources — epigraphy, monuments, numismatics and literature.

Notwithstanding such continuous and ardent penetration into the subject, a student of Pallava history still

needs clarification and elucidation in many fields. One of them is about the builder of the Adivaraha temple at Mamallapuram. Who was its excavator, Simhavishnu, the father of Mahendravarman or Mahendravarman himself ? This paper purports to answer the question, after an examination of available evidence.

Several historians hold the view that the cave at Mandakappattu was the first of its kind excavated by Mahendravarman. Father Heras says emphatically that "the Mandakappattu cave is undoubtedly the first cave carved by Mahendravarman, and incidentally the first cave temple ever carved in the Tamil Nadu, after the specimens seen in the valley of Krishna." *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 80). This view is based on the inscription found in the cave itself. The English translation of it runs as follows :—"This is the temple caused to be constructed by the (king) Vichitrachitta, (a title of Mahendravarman) for Brahma, Isvara and Vishnu, without bricks, without timber, without metals and without mortar." In spite of this inscription the interpretation of which is, in my opinion, totally wrong, the earliest origin attributed to Mandakappattu cave is hardly acceptable.

It is a fact accepted by several writers and substantiated on many grounds that the cave temple at Sittannavasal was excavated by Mahendravarman I. In the early period of his reign, he was a staunch Jain. He supported the Jains of Pataliputra, a renowned Jaina seat of learning in the seventh century A.D., and, acting on their advice, persecuted Appar for his desertion of Jainism and conversion to Saivism. In turn, we see Mahendravarman too being converted to the Saiva religion by Saint Appar and the Jaina monastery being demolished by the proselyte. The *Periyapuranam* narrates that the Pallava monarch built a temple to Siva at Tiruvadhikai out of the materials of the Jaina monas-

tery. From these circumstances one may easily conclude that the Jaina cave at Sittannavasal came into existence before Mahendravarman became a zealot of Saivism. It was characteristic of the Pallava king to throw himself heart and soul into the patronage of his religion. When he was a Jain he was pleased to dedicate the first rock-cut-cave for Tirthankaras, and decorate the entire cave with paintings. It is believed that he also graced the cave by allowing his figure and that of his queen to be portrayed on one of its pillars. As it was the first creation of his architectural genius, Mahendravarman, even after his conversion, left the Jaina cave with all its beauty intact; otherwise, it would have received the same fate as the monastery of Pataliputra. This shows Mahendravarman's love of art transcending his faith. The first cave hewn out of rock, at the instance of the Pallava king, without brick, timber and mortar was, therefore, the Sittannavasal cave.

Let us revert to the Mandakappattu cave. This cave was consecrated to the Hindu trinity by Mahendravarman. He might have done so only after he embraced Saivism. Even then I do not hold the Mandakappattu cave as the first temple built by the king. It is natural to expect from a convert to make his first dedication to the Supreme God of his new faith. I am of opinion that the first cave built by Mahendravarman, after his conversion to Saivism, was one at Tiruchirapally. It was dedicated by him to Siva. One of the verses engraved in this temple refers to his adoption of the Saiva religion and his worship of Linga. The Tamil scholar-historian Mayilai Seeni Venkatasamy opines on inscriptional evidence that the figure of Mahendravarman once existed by the side of Linga in that cave (*Mahendravarman*: p. 53, p. 55). When in later days he developed catholicity for all sects of Hinduism, temples for other gods of the Hindu pantheon i.e., Vishnu and Brahma, were built by him. We have to interpret

the stone inscription at Mandakappattu in the light of the above explanation. We know that Mahendravarman built and dedicated several cave temples dispensing with brick, timber and mortar, to Siva and Vishnu separately but only one to the trinity in common and that is at Mandakappattu. The emphasis in the inscription is not on the kind of the material of the building but on the nature of the dedication. The wording of the inscription clearly conveys this idea.

Now, for the question about the builder of the Adivaraha Cave at Mamallapuram. Its construction was attributed to Simhavishnu. If it were true, the honour for introducing stone building and rock carving would then go to Simhavishnu. All historians agree with the view that Mahendravarman was the founder of this new system in Tamilnadu. Unless Adivaraha temple is said to have been built by Mahendravarman, this view cannot hold good. I agree with the statement of Father Heras that Mahendravarman was the builder of the Adivaraha temple. It was built by the king, I think, in memory of his father Simhavishnu whom the Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman II praise as "Bhakti Aradhita Vishṇu Simhavishnu". In this temple there are two carvings, one representing Simhavishnu with his consorts and the other Mahendravarman with his consorts. The difference in the posture of these figures unfortunately escaped the notice of the research workers. Simhavishnu is sitting on a pedestal, his wives standing on each side of him. This posture means that Simhavishnu was deified. On the other hand Mahendravarman is in a standing position. His wives are also standing behind him. This posture means that they were alive at the time of its construction. Moreover, Mahendravarman is represented as pointing his finger towards his father. The implication of this gesture is that the cave temple is mainly constructed as a memorial of Simhavishnu. Another point to be noticed in this connection

is the painted bust of Mahendravarman on the pillar of the Jaina cave at Sittannavasal. In this figure he is shown along with only one wife. But in the Adivaraha temple, Mahendravarman stands along with two wives. How are we to reconcile this position? One may also notice the youthfulness in the face of Mahendravarman's figure at Sittannavasal as against his figure at Mamallapuram which shows his being older. These sculptural evidences lead us to decide that the Sittannavasal cave was excavated by Mahendravarman when he was young and had only one wife and that the Adivaraha temple came into existence long after he embraced Saivism and was advanced in age.

News and Notes

DR. CALDWELL

Mr. M. S. H. Thompson, of Twickenham, Middlesex, England, has sent us the following note regarding Dr. R. Caldwell to supplement the information provided by Dr. Kamil Zvelebil in his article on " A Hundred Years of Dravidian Comparative Philology " :—

Dr. Caldwell's *Reminiscences* were printed in Madras by Messrs. Addison & Co. in 1894. They were written at the request of some members of the Bishop's family and prepared by himself for publication. His son-in-law, the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, a missionary working in the south, saw the book through the press, and added two appendices giving particulars of the closing years of his father-in-law's life.

Robert Caldwell was born on 7 May 1814 near Antrim in the north of Ireland, and died at Kodaikanal at 9 o'clock in the morning of Friday, August 26, 1891, in the house in which he had lived in retirement since 31 January 1891, when he retired from active service on the advice of his family. He received his education at Glasgow, where, at the University, he studied Greek under a professor who implanted in him his taste for comparative philology. It was Glasgow University that conferred on him his doctorate on the publication of his *Comparative Grammar* in 1856, during his first furlough home in eighteen years. In the London *Times* of 19 October 1891 appeared a long account of his life and labours, written, it was thought, by Sir W. W. Hunter. Indian scholarship, it said, had lost one of its great original workers — " a scholar without an equal in his special field of learning ".

Caldwell arrived in Madras on the morning of Sunday, 8 January 1838, having left London in the *Mary Ann* on 30 August 1837, and had as companion on board the distinguished Telugu scholar, C. P. Brown, from whom he had his first lessons in Sanskrit. He had his first lessons in Tamil from the Rev. Mr. Drew of the London Mission, with whom he stayed in Madras and whom he describes as "a devoted student of Tamil". He writes of having received from him "the stimulus to Tamil studies" but "no direct help, as he undervalued Sanskrit too much and despised the new science of comparative philology"—a failing which Brown found also in the Rev. W. Taylor, editor of the latter half of Rottler's Tamil dictionary, whom he describes as "an illiterate man, acquainted with the colloquial Tamil alone, and unskilled in chronology" (*Literary Life of C. P. Brown*, 1872, p. 17). "My only work in Madras for the first year," Caldwell tells us, "and my chief work afterwards, so long as I remained there, was the acquisition of Tamil. It was my aim to acquire a good knowledge of the High Tamil or classical tongue and of the Tamil classics as well as of the spoken language, and the knowledge I then acquired, though not so extensive or thorough as I could have wished, has been of the greatest possible use to me ever since. . . . In particular I spared no pains in endeavouring to acquire an accurate pronunciation." He obtained "much valuable help" from Dr. Bower in his endeavours to acquire a thorough knowledge of Tamil "both in its classical dialect and in the Tamil of common life".

Caldwell proceeded on foot to Tinnevelly in 1840, missing "the Tanjore poet", Vēdanāyakam Sāstri, on his way there, and was joined two years later by G. U. Pope, to whose "varied abilities and accomplishments" he bears testimony, though they failed to stand Pope in good stead in the training of teachers for village work, resulting in his retiring to Ootacamund to start his Grammar School there and later going to Bangalore

as Warden of the Bishop Cotton School. Pope fell out with Vēdanāyakam Sāstri, as Dr. Dēvanēsan records on p. xv of his interesting life of the Tanjore poet published by the C.L.S., Madras.

Caldwell tells us practically nothing regarding his Tamil studies in Tinnevelly, only remarking in the preface to the first edition of his *Comparative Grammar* dated 2 June 1856 that he had then been studying the language for seventeen years and quoting with approval Bohtlingk's saying that "it is dangerous to write on languages of which we do not possess the most accurate knowledge". In a review of Tamil literature (omitted by the revisers of the third edition of the *Grammar*) we find Caldwell referring to *Nannūl* ("a High Tamil grammar of great excellence", p. 84) and *Tolkāppiyam* ("the oldest extant Tamil grammar", p. 84), but without making any direct use of either no doubt because he saw little use in "learning by rote versified enigmas and harmonious platitudes" to quote from his preface to the second edition of the *Grammar,* 1875. A few pages later we come across this somewhat surprising remark: "With the exception of a small ethical poem called *Nītinerivillakkam,* the only Tamil poems or treatises of any real value written within the period mentioned have been composed by European missionaries", pp. 89-90. The special mention of the poem in question was probably due to the appearance in 1830 of the elaborate edition of it, with English translation, by H. Stokes of Madras Civil Service, in the preparation of which the editor had the assistance of two Tinnevelly scholars and two teachers of the College of Fort St. George (Tāṇḍavarāya Mūdaliyār and Muttusāmi Piḷḷai) and in his introduction to which he wrote: "High Tamil deserves our attention not merely as a means of acquiring purity and elegance of style. It is the repository of whatever of their writings the men of the greatest genius and learning in Southern India have deemed worthy of record."

All told the *Reminiscences* tell us little about Caldwell's Tamil and subsidiary studies in regard to the teachers, more especially, from whom he acquired his knowledge of Tamil, which at the time of the appearance of the second edition of the *Grammar* he had been studying, as he tells us, for thirty-seven years. Burrow in his recent work *The Sanskrit Language* (Faber, 1955) makes no reference to Caldwell in his chapter on the Non-Aryan influence on Sanskrit, and states that the comparative study of the Dravidian languages is still in its infancy (p. 379).

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES IN EAST GERMANY

For the former Indological Seminary of the Berlin Humboldt University, which is now directed by Dr Walter Ruben, a new designation has been introduced, namely the Institute for Indian Science. This new term is to demonstrate that the old designation and conception of Indology is no longer broad enough to cover all subjects in this line which are to be taught.

The scientists and students in the German Democratic Republic endeavour to form a clear idea of the significant and interesting development of present-day India on a historical basis. In view of such comprehensive tasks, it goes without saying that a merely philological interpretation of texts can no longer be the centre of research and teaching. Today rather instructive lectures which survey the different problems of India are in the foreground. Naturally also the scientific text interpretation, such as of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-gita, is duly considered.

It becomes obvious from the tasks of the institute that its main attention is devoted to research on new developments in independent India. Formerly Indology was limited to the mere interpretation of texts in the

whole of Germany. Today the Berlin Institute for Indian Science has fully overcome the horizon of the "ivory tower" of the German orientalists of the past.

On the other hand, research on the problems of old India is by no means neglected, the more so as the G.D.R. endeavours to continue the long famous tradition of Germany in this line. The schedule of lectures covers the scientific interpretation of the history of ancient India as well as of ancient Indian philosophy and literature by way of texts, Indian ethnography and a number of lectures and exercises dealing with the more modern history of India, especially from 1870-80. Thus, one lecture is held on the economic development of India during the colonial period; another lecture is devoted to India's contemporary history. Moreover, the students at the institute engage in the study of Hindi literature and modern Indian philosophy.

Linguistics have a prominent place in the Institute. A five-year study of Hindi is obligatory for all the students of the institute; over and above, each student has to learn a second modern Indian language. Also Sanskrit lessons are given a broad scope. Students are taught Indian linguistic history ranging from the Vedic language to Hindi. Lessons in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhransha, ancient Hindi, Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu are held.

The institute is not yet able to teach other modern Indian languages besides Hindi, Bengali and Urdu, *as for instance Tamil. But in spite of the great interest in this line, there is not yet a teacher for such other languages at the disposal of the institute.* Lessons in modern Indian languages are directed almost exclusively by Indian guests. Thus we are thankful to Pandit Shastri from Santiniketan who comes from Leipzig to Berlin once a week to give lessons in Hindi and ancient Hindi.

Problems of modern India are in the centre of the institute's research work. Thus the director endeavours to elaborate an analysis of modern Indian novels. One of his colleagues, an ethnologist, mainly examines the development of the Indian village.

Naturally this orientation of the institute is quite a difficult task. Especially at the beginning many difficulties had to be overcome so as to render its work fully successful.

These difficulties are mainly due to the fact that the library of the Indological Seminary was destroyed in World War II so that a completely new library had to be established after 1945. In spite of these difficulties the Institute for Indian Science could already record quite a number of successes in its work.

Naturally the scientists of a nation can best do research on their own country; thus the most remarkable contributions in the field of Indian science are to be expected from India today; at the same time we are also interested in the opinions of others on the new developments in the GDR. Thus we suppose that in India also people will be interested in the work of this institute of the Berlin Humboldt University. Just by such an exchange of ideas one's own experience is essentially enriched. Above all, a study of the conceptions of the scientists of our two countries helps mutual understanding which in fact is the noblest task of our institute.

—*The Mail* (Madras), 31-12-61.

THE SECRET OF THE TAMILS

* * * *

Passivity Pays: Travelling through the Tamilnad one gets the feeling. The depth of the Tamil is great. It is unmistakable. All his would-be conquerors have been defeated; they defeated themselves, while the

Tamil lived on. His present conqueror, as well, will sooner or later disappear. The Tamil has a knack of swaying with the breeze, or as the Chinese say, "floating on the surface of a stream like a leaf." This trait is completely misunderstood by most people.

I doubt if many Westerners fully realize the depth of the Tamil and the greatness of his culture. Most would say he is a funny little fellow, completely passive, holding his conquerors in absolute awe. But the Tamil has a secret... an ace in the hole we might say. He has learnt that keeping still and watching the world go round pays off. He plays the "stupid oaf" so outsiders will keep off his back. He knows it is useless to engage the supercharged egotist, who is either full of pretentious spirituality or do-good-ism on the material level, in any controversy that may ultimately find him without his head.

* * * *

The silly little Tamil also reads the *Kural.* The silly little Tamil reads the *Kural* in Tamil, not English, or French, or (God forbid!) in Hindi! This Hindi business is a thorn in his side. He really doesn't care a plug nickel about Hindi, or English, or French, or Bantu for that matter. Tamil is good enough for him. Strange, isn't it? Why shouldn't he like Hindi? After all it is the national language! Looks as if he's an unpatriotic little runt, doesn't he? "So what?" he'll say, to himself anyway. "So what?" After all Tamil is in his consciousness and that's all he's interested in. His roots are in Tamil. His whole life is Tamil. He has no use of a new language. It's like trying to sell a fellow with perfect teeth a pair of dentures.

* * * *

Natural Contentment: Another strange thing about the Tamil is he's happy. He's really a happy

fellow. Why is he happy? "We live in a troubled world and anyone who is happy is abnormal" so said one eminent Western psychiatrist recently. So our little Tamil is abnormally happy. He is not only happy, but he breeds other little happy Tamils. Some people think this is a crime. Over-population is bad business, they say, but isn't it far superior to breed happy little Tamils than H-bombs and World War III scares?

* * * *

Whatever the Tamil does it is with a naturalness, grace, dignity and self-assurance. Wherever he goes he takes this along with him. Perhaps he is an anomaly to those who take their cue from the modern, aggressive, acquisitive world. His simplicity and lack of assertion makes domination easy but since he is free *inside* nothing and nobody can truly oppress him. If one lives in the Tamil-nad long enough one is sure to acquire or at least appreciate the Tamil character, unless one is an absolute dunderhead. Go into a Tamil restaurant and you'll see what I mean. He goes through a simple graceful meal with true etiquette. (This in itself is refreshing when one thinks of all the over-refinements and false etiquette found in most Western restaurants.) Here the Tamil comes to eat and that he does... with a relish, a gusto! Food is to be enjoyed so let's go to it.

Yes, this silly little Tamil is quite a fellow. I'm sure he'll still be around one thousand years from now, but sometimes I wonder if the rest of us will.

—*Values,* Vol. VI, No. 10, July, 1961.

DR. M. VARADARAJANAR FELICITATED

Dr. M. Varadarajanar was felicitated by the Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras, on the 25th of November 1961 at New Woodlands, Mylapore, with the

Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. S. Kailasam in the chair. A large gathering of persons assembled to offer their felicitations.

After tea, Mr. A. Subbiah welcomed the gathering and said that Dr. M. Varadarajanar was a true representative of Tamil culture, and that the Academy aims at the propagation of Tamil culture in India and abroad. He said that Dr. Varadarajanar was really a herald who carried the message of Tamil to Russia.

Messages had been received from many dignitaries and scholars interested in Tamil culture. They were read by Mr. C. Amritaganesan.

Mr. M. V. Venugopala Pillai, a veteran scholar, felicitated Dr. M. Varadarajanar and said that his visit to Russia was quite in the fitness of things and that he truly represented Tamil culture in all its aspects. He believed that his trip would bear fruit in the furtherance of the objectives of the Academy.

Miss A. R. Indra, Head of the Department of Tamil, Ethiraj College, Madras, spoke about the great qualities of her teacher Dr. M. Varadarajanar and said that he had always been a source of inspiration to all students of Tamil in particular and the people of Tamilnad in general. She expressed the feeling of all the students in praying for his long life and many more creative works from his pen which would be like guiding stars for generations to come.

Dr. A. Chidambaranathan Chettiar, Chief Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary Department, University of Madras, eulogised the scholarly traits of Dr. M. Varadarajanar and added that his cultural tour in Russia will certainly bring forth very many works in Tamil. He paid a tribute to his writings and humane qualities.

Mr. T. K. Shanmugam, the distinguished artiste of the stage and screen praised Dr. M. Varadarajanar for

his keen interest in all aspects of day to day life including the creative writing of drama and screenplay. He requested the chief guest to use his pen and energy more and more to heighten the scope of art in all its aspects.

The President finally felicitated Dr. M. Varadarajanar and spoke about his unique qualities of humility and wisdom. He said that his works had been stimulating the readers for decades, and taking them towards the great heritages of Tamil language, literature and culture, thereby inculcating a spirit of true service for the language and nation.

The chief guest, Dr. M. Varadarajanar, while replying to the felicitations offered to him said that Tamil literature had a hoary past and is *Nulli Secondus* in the world of literature and culture today. He felt gratified in having been able to carry the message of Tamil Culture to Russia as a member of the Indian Cultural Delegation. He expressed that the progress of Technology in Russia reflected in all levels of human life is really a source of inspiration. He greatly appreciated the status of writers in Russia and hoped that it would be emulated for the writers of our nation.

Dr. Varadarajanar said that Tamil was a subject of study at Leningrad and Moscow Universities and said that scholars in Russia are evincing keen interest in Tamil and Tamilians. He expressed his gratitude to the speakers and members who felicitated him.

The honorary Secretary of the Academy of Tamil Culture proposed a vote of thanks and appealed to the members present to help the Academy in furthering the cause of Tamil Culture and its spread in our country and abroad.

DEVELOPMENT OF TAMIL

MADRAS GOVT. SET UP BUREAU

The Government of Madras have constituted a Bureau of Tamil Publications and have endowed it with a capital of Rs. 10 lakhs.

The Bureau which will consist of 30 members including representatives of the Government of Madras, the University of Madras, Annamalai University, the Madras Legislature and literary associations engaged in the development of Tamil, will have Mr. G. R. Damodaran, M.L.C., Principal, P. S. G. College of Technology, as its Chairman.

The Bureau will publish literary and scientific works including dictionaries, bibliography and encyclopaedia in Tamil language, promote research in Tamil language and literature and arrange for the translation of literary and scientific works in other foreign languages as well as other Indian languages into Tamil.

The Bureau will shortly meet to chalk out a phased programme of its activities.

—*The Hindu* (Madras), 31-12-61.

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

DR. M. B. EMENEAU INVITED BY ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, American scholar in Dravidian languages, will visit India in 1963 for a nine-month stay as Visiting Research Professor at Annamalai University. He will conduct seminars on linguistics in general and Dravidian languages in particular.

—*Mail*, (Madras), 27-11-1961.

Book Review

TAMILJSKO-RUSSKIJ SLOVARJ—*தமிழ்-ருஷ்ய அகராதி* (Tamil-Russian Dictionary) by A. M. Pjatigorskij and S. G. Rudin, General Editor : Purnam Somasundaram, Government Publishing House for Foreign and National Languages Dictionaries, Moscow, 1960, pp. 1384, price 26.55 Rubles.

This handy and fairly exhaustive dictionary of Tamil containing 38,000 words, a short summary of Tamil grammar (pp. 1301-1384 by M. S. Andronov) and some useful material on weights, measures, seasons, etc. (pp. 1288-1297) is admittedly the first of its kind in any foreign language, noted particularly for its precision, thoroughness and exhaustiveness and conciseness of entries.

Unlike many other publications elsewhere in the world the Russian publications of foreign language grammars and dictionaries, as the one under review, form part of a gigantic and well-laid out practical programme whose academic significance itself is astounding.

Already grammars and dictionaries of several Indian languages have come out of this huge venture. The quantity of these publications being what it is, the quality of each work is no less remarkable. From the publishers' general introduction to many of these works, it appears that the present series of publications marks only the starting point with respect to each language. There are evidently more to follow, more exhaustive and improved versions, as the present reviewer understands from this general introduction, which refers to these already significant publications merely as " essays "

or "sketches" on the language concerned, implying that "treatises" as such are still to follow.

The தமிழ்-ருஷ்ய அகராதி under review has a plan and purpose of its own: to bring Russian scholars on Oriental Studies (linguists, specialists on literature, artists, historians and economists) into direct contact with the original rich and diverse literature in the Tamil language. The compilers of this dictionary have aspired to provide a stock of words necessary for the study of contemporary artistic, political and scientific literature in the Tamil language as well as for the study of prose writings of the last century. At the same time a considerable quantity of words from the works of classical Tamil poetry, grammatical terms, rhetorical, metrical and prosodic terms, which are of importance in the study of the language, and terms from Tamil astronomy and astrology are included in the dictionary. Tamil medical and technical terminology is also given in the dictionary.

The inclusion of a considerable quantity of words from ancient and classical Tamil poetry stems from the realization of the compilers of this dictionary that it is essential to know the meaning of such words to be able to understand most sentences in modern Tamil.

Further the dictionary aims at being useful not only for educational and comprehension purposes but also for authentic translation work.

The compilers have expressed their realization that in this first dictionary of Tamil and Russian there are bound to be omissions and inaccuracies, and have invited critical notes, corrections and additions from the readers or users of the dictionary.

The compilers are indeed to be warmly congratulated for their success in condensing within less than 1,400 pages vital lexical and phraseological material, in

a neatly and skilfully arranged form, that could easily have otherwise run into several volumes.

One important objective feature that easily strikes the eye in this dictionary is that all variant forms of a word are given and cross references made to one of the forms, critically assessed to be the right form or norm, under which the descriptive grammatical notations and meanings are given.

Another objective view the compilers have upheld is to recognize any word (from whatever source) used in daily conversation or writing by the Tamils is a Tamil word. Accordingly we find words like : ஆட்டோமதிக் (?) ஆட்டோமோபைல், ஆபரேஷன், ஆப்பரேட்டர், ஆப்பீசர், ஆர்டர், இன்டர்நேஷனல், எக்ஸ்பிரஸ், எக்ஸ்ரே, எஸ்டேட்டு, ஒர்க்ஷாப்பு, கான்சர்ட், கான்ஸ்டிடியூஷனல், கமிஷனர், கமி ஸார், ஸிண்டிகேட்டு, ஸீஸன், ஸ்டோர், பஸ், பாலிடெக்னிகல், ரயில்வே, ரிபோர்ட், வார்னிஷ், வோட்டர், வோட்டு, etc., included in the dictionary without any hesitation.

The general get up of the dictionary, the paper used, the neat and faultless printing and the binding are attractive and are of high quality, a feature which is very rarely seen in many other Tamil dictionaries including the *Tamil Lexicon* (original edition).

With this mighty weapon of a Tamil grammar and dictionary it will not be surprising if in the coming few years Tamil classics in large numbers get rapidly translated into Russian, noting that the dictionary is not an isolated publication but is part of a gigantic practical plan, with a definite cultural purpose (one may say without hesitation).

It will not be surprising too if this dictionary, like an earlier Russian work — "Tamil Grammar" (Tamilskij Jazyk) by M. S. Andronov, is also sold out within a short period after its publication.

P. C. G.

Appendix

I

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TAMIL STUDIES

The Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur is undertaking the compilation of an annotated bibliography of printed books, brochures and tracts available in *languages other than Tamil* concerning various branches of Tamil Studies. In compiling the bibliography we are making a careful survey of the available material in various languages covering such subjects as Tamil Language, Tamil Linguistics, Tamil Lexicography, Grammatical studies of Tamil, Tamil Literature, Tamil Culture and Civilization, Tamil Philosophy and religion, Tamil Law, Tamil Education, Tamil fine arts, Tamil folklore, geography and history of the Tamil provinces, Travel in the Tamil provinces, and other works dealing with any aspect of the life and culture of the Tamil-speaking communities in India, Ceylon and Malaya.

Would you be kind enough to help us to compile the bibliography by sending us full bibliographical information regarding books and other printed material in book form (*excluding journals and periodicals*) available in *your institution or/and in the public or private libraries in your locality or country?*

For each printed book, brochure, and tract we shall require the usual bibliographical particulars. We are attaching herewith a Note on the various elements of bibliographical citation to facilitate your collection of bibliographical information. An annotation on the contents of the books should be added to each item. This may be expressed in the annotator's own words or may be the substance, or a quotation of the author's own words as expressed in his Preface or Introduction. We intend publishing the initials of each contributor against

the respective annotation unless the contributor desires otherwise. An index references of contributors will also be provided in the bibliography.

The present bibliography will consist only of published books, booklets and tracts *in languages other than Tamil.* Books may be defined for the present bibliography as including booklets, pamphlets, tracts and brochures. *It is not our intention to include in the present bibliography articles which are found in journals and periodicals, since we hope to compile a separate bibliography of periodicals when we have completed and printed this bibliography of books, booklets and tracts.*

We are making this request to many research workers, curators of museums, and librarians of higher educational institutions, whose names have been carefully selected as representative of the academic world. Should you incur any expenses for clerical assistance or for microfilming large card indexes, we shall endeavour to meet the costs.

Please accept our thanks for your assistance in this project, the results of which we hope will prove useful to research workers in Tamil Studies all over the world.

(REV.) XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
Head of the Department of Indian Studies.

Dec. 1, 1961.

II

A NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CITATION

1. The order of elements in bibliographical citation will be :

   AUTHOR, TITLE, EDITION, PLACE OF PUBLICATION, PUBLISHER, DATE OF PUBLICATION, PAGINATION.

2. For authors, please quote surnames first, qualifying by forenames — all in capital letters in typescript.

3. Please quote the works transliterating in Roman script (e.g. Russian and other non-Roman scripts), since this will allow the bibliography to be compiled on one sequence. For works in non-Roman alphabet, please give details in the original script also — this will enable the editor to use a standard transliteration policy in the final work. Please give your own translation into English of the title and other bibliographical details. *Titles may be underlined twice; subtitles may be underlined once in typescripts.*

4. Books dealing with India or Ceylon or Malaya in general, but containing an appreciable number of pages on any of the specified aspects of Tamil studies will be included in the bibliography.

   If in doubt whether a book should be included, please include the book.

5. Long and important articles in books of Reference, Encyclopaedias, Historical series, etc., e.g. "Dravidian" in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions* or "Tamil Literature" in *Histoire des Litteratures,* Encyc. de la Pléiade, Vol. 1. should be included in the bibliography.

6. Reprints of articles in journals which have been *published* as a book, booklet, brochure or tract are to be included in the bibliography.

7. In the case of rare books the Library in which the annotator found the book and the Library reference number should be added. The annotator may use his discretion in deciding which books are rare.

8. The annotation should be brief but conveying as much information as possible. If you do not wish to make any value judgements or summarise prominent features, you may quote the author from his preface or introduction. The quotation should be

sufficiently explanatory of the scope and contents of the work. Quotations from the author may be included also in one's own annotation. Some books e.g. grammatical works, and booklets, may require little or no annotation.

9. Please include titles as well as sub-titles, so that the scope of the book is made clearer. All particulars printed on the title page may be included. The Editor will omit in the version for print whatever is not considered essential.

10. We are enlisting the collaboration of scholars abroad who will be responsible for the bibliography in any single language, Russian, German and Czech, or who will supply the bibliographical data on special sections e.g. Linguistics. Prof. T. P. Meenatchisundaram of the Annamalai University has undertaken to supply annotated lists of books on the Tamil language, and on Tamil Linguistics. Prof. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam has undertaken the preparation of the annotated bibliography of English, French, Italian and Latin translation of Tamil Classics and of Literary studies and dictionaries, which exist in these four languages. Dr. S. Arasaratnam of the University of Malaya will supply the lists in ancient, mediaeval and modern Tamil History. We hope to obtain the collaboration of Profs. Jean Filliozat and S. Sarvane for rare works in French on Tamil Studies; of Dr. Arno Lehmann of the University of Halle, E. Germany, for the bibliography of books published in German; of Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Prague for the bibliography in Czech, and Dr. S. Rudin of Leningrad for the bibliography in Russian. We are in correspondence with other scholars in other parts of the world so as to ensure as complete a bibliography as possible.

Mr. D. H. Killingley (University of Malaya) has undertaken to supply the lists on Tamil Epigraphy, Tamil Art and Architecture and Tamil Music and Dance.

If you could undertake an annotated sectional list in any particular language, please let us know as early as possible, and send us a list of the authors with the titles of their books which you undertake to annotate.

Due acknowledgement will be made in the printed work of all collaboration.

11. We give a few samples of bibliographical citation with annotations. We shall be thankful for your comments regarding the bibliographical data as well as for your suggestions regarding the whole project.

12. Please address all correspondence to:
 The General Editor, Research Projects,
 Department of Indian Studies,
 University of Malaya,
 Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

13. *The labour involved in compiling a bibliography*:
 "The labour would have been considerably lessened if those to whom application had been made for personal and literary details had obliged with correct particulars on such first application," wrote Simms, "by this neglect the labour has been increased at least three-fold." — Robert Simms, the handless historian, in the preface to his *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis.*

"In a similar fashion a bad bibliography is a source of constant irritation and resentment, and inaccurate references and poor comments cause the offending volume to be quickly thrown aside. Users of bibliographies are the most critical of readers and only the best will content them. The respect for good bibliographies is only exceeded by the contempt for bad. Thus it is that there are many bibliographies of the past which gather dust today and the wasted work which they represent is sure to inspire sympathy and sorrow in any bibliographer who happens to glance at them." — Robert L. Collison.

III

Tamil Grammar in Latin

BESCHI CONSTANTIO IOSEPHO, GRAMMATICA LATINO TAMULICA, *ubi de vulgari Tamulicae linguae idiomate* கொடுந்தமிழ் *dicto, ad usum missionariorum Soc. Iesu. anctore P Constantio Iosepho Beschi ejusdem societatis in Regno Madurensi Missionario,* Trangambariae, Typis Missionis Danicae, 1738, pp. 175.

Beschi Joseph Constantius. The Tamil Grammar of the "Ordinary dialect" of Tamil written in Latin and published by the Danish Mission Press in Tranquebar in 1738 during the lifetime of the author. Contains "*imprimatur*" of the Catholic Bishop of Mylapore. Tamil words occurring in the Latin text are printed in Tamil. English translations of this grammar were published in the 19th century.

History of the Tamils

MAHALINGAM, T. V., SOUTH INDIAN POLITY, Madras, University of Madras, 1955, pp. ix+409.

A study of the political institutions and theories prevalent in Southern India from the earliest time to the Vijayanagara Empire. Institutions of the Tamil Kingdoms and Empires from the Sangam Age onwards are dealt with along with those of other states of Southern India. Extensive use is made of Tamil sources. Theme split up and discussed in the following manner : Kingship ; Imperial council and the Secretarial ; Income and Expenditure ; Law, Justice and Police ; Military organisation ; Provincial Government ; Local Government.—S.A.

SRINIVASACHARI, RAO BAHADUR, C. S., A HISTORY OF GINGEE AND ITS RULERS, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University Historical Series No. 2, 1943, pp. 625+xi, plates and maps.

A detailed history of the fort and district of Gingee from the 13th century to the end of the 18th century. Traces the political and military history of the area under the Vijayanagar Nayaks, Muslim conquest, Bijapur and Mahratta rule, Mughal rule and finally its conquest by the British. Great part of the work devoted to relations with European powers. Pays some attention to social history.—S.A.

SATHIANATHAIER, R., TAMILAHAM IN THE 17TH CENTURY, Madras, Sir William Meyer Lectures 1954-55, University of Madras, 1956, pp. 207+vi.

Deals with the Kingdoms that arose in the Tamil Nad on the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the conflicts between them. Connected thread of history of the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore. Discussions of Christian missionary activity in Tamil Nad and of the historical value of sources left behind by them.—S.A.

PURNALINGAM PILLAI, M. S., TAMIL INDIA, Tirunelveli and Madras, 1945, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Soc., (reprint of first edition of 1927), pp. xv+174, and maps.

Reflections on the origin of the Dravidians. Puts forward the theory of the submerged continent of Lemuria as the original home of the Dravidians. Sections on language and literature, religion and philosophy, social life, polity, education of the Tamils. A rather disjointed collection of quotations from other works interspersed with the author's own views sketchily presented.—S.A.

SARADA RAJU, A., ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1800-1850, Madras, University of Madras Economics Series No. 5, 1941, pp. xxi+322.

Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Madras. A detailed study of certain aspects of economic life in the Madras Presidency during the first half of the 19th century. Begins with description of political conditions and economic organisation of the country at the commencement of British rule, with special attention to the village and land tenure. Then goes on to examine agriculture in all its aspects, industry and the decline of handicrafts, internal and external trade, and social conditions. Based on contemporary British records, published and in manuscript.—S.A.

History: PROTESTANT MISSIONS

LEHMANN ARNO, E., ES BEGANN IN TRANQUEBAR, *Die Geschichte der ersten evangelischen Kirche in Indien,* Berlin, Evanglische Verlagsanstalt, 1956, pp. 352, Illustrated.

(German: It began in Tranquebar). The story of the Tranquebar mission and the beginnings of Protestant Christianity in India published to celebrate the 250th Anniversary of the landing of the first Protestant missionaries at Tranquebar in 1706. Contains well documented accounts of the literary activities and the studies in comparative religion of Bortholo-

maeus Zieganbalg (1673-1719) and others of the Danish mission, and the literature published in Tamil and about Tamiliana at the printing press in Tranquebar and in Europe.—X.S.T.

LEHMANN ARNO, *It began at Tranquebar, a History of the first protestant mission in India,* translated from the German by LUTZ, MARTIN, J., Madras Christian Literature Society, 1956, pp. 185, Illustrated.

The Tamil version is not documented.—X.S.T.

Anthropology : Physical, Social

OLIVIER GEORGES, *Anthropologie des Tamouls du sud de l'Inde,* Paris, Ecole Francaise d' Extreme—Orient, 1961, (Depositaire : Adrien Maisonneuve).

(French : Anthropology of the Tamils of Southern India.) An anthropological study of the different castes of South India, their pigmentation, pilosity, stature, cephalic and facial characteristics, corpulence, racial classification etc. with photographs, maps and documentation. Pp. 328 ff. contain a good bibliography.—X.S.T.

TRANSLATION : *Devotional Literature*

TAYUMANASWAMY, PSALMS OF A SAIVA SAINT, *being selections from the writings of Tayumanaswamy translated into English with Introduction and notes* by T. ISAAC TAMBYAH, London, Luzac & Co., 1925, pp. ccviii+264.

"This book is a Christian layman's endeavour to understand a great Hindu poet-saint" (Preface). The total number of poems translated is 366 out of the 1,452 given in most editions of the Tamil. The long introduction contains detailed study of the Saiva religion, and the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy and mysticism of Tayumanavarswamy whom the translator places in the 17th or 18th century A.D. To the English translations, which are in places a paraphrase of the Tamil, are added notes and explanations. A well documented introduction.—X.S.T.

TRANSLATION INTO FRENCH : *Ethics, and Cultural anthropology*

LOUIS JACOLLIOT, LA PARIAH DANS L'HUMANITE, Paris, Lacroix et Cie, Editeurs, 13, Rue du fauborg—Montmatre, 1876, pp. 360.

"The Pariah in the World" — The author claims to have had access to a more complete Mss. of Tirukkural than the

one now available, and includes translations of verses allegedly from the Tirukkural claiming social equality for the pariah which would to-day be considered interpolations. He has translated chapters from the section on Virtue, and Statecraft. The book also contains 12 "pariah fables" collected in Travancore, Malabar and in Ceylon, some "pariah stories", and one "pariah farce". Tiruvalluvar is considered by the author as the "Divine Pariah" and his book as the charter of Pariah liberty. He speaks of South Indian pariah emigrations to the Persian Gulf and East Iran, and says that the Tamil Mss. from which Beschi and Lamairesse translated the Kural were versions expurgated by the Brahmins of all verses pertaining to the Pariahs. The author's reflections and observations on the treatment of pariahs in India are also of interest to social anthropologists.—X.S.T.

(Adyar, Theosophical Society Library)

Tamil Typography — Portuguese

PINTO, AMERICO CORTEZ, DA FAMOSA ARTE DA IMPRIMISSAO. Editora, Lisbon, "Ulisseia" Limitada, 1948, pp. 507.

"The Excellent Art of Printing" pages 355-383 contain a descriptive account of the first books printed in the Indian languages, especially in Tamil, both in Portugal and in India. Has four pages reproduced from the first printed Tamil brochure published in Lisbon in February, 1554.—X.S.T.

TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. IX - 1961

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



Pub No : 835
ISBN : 978-93-85165-46-7
TAMIL CULTURE Vol. IX - 1961 300.00